

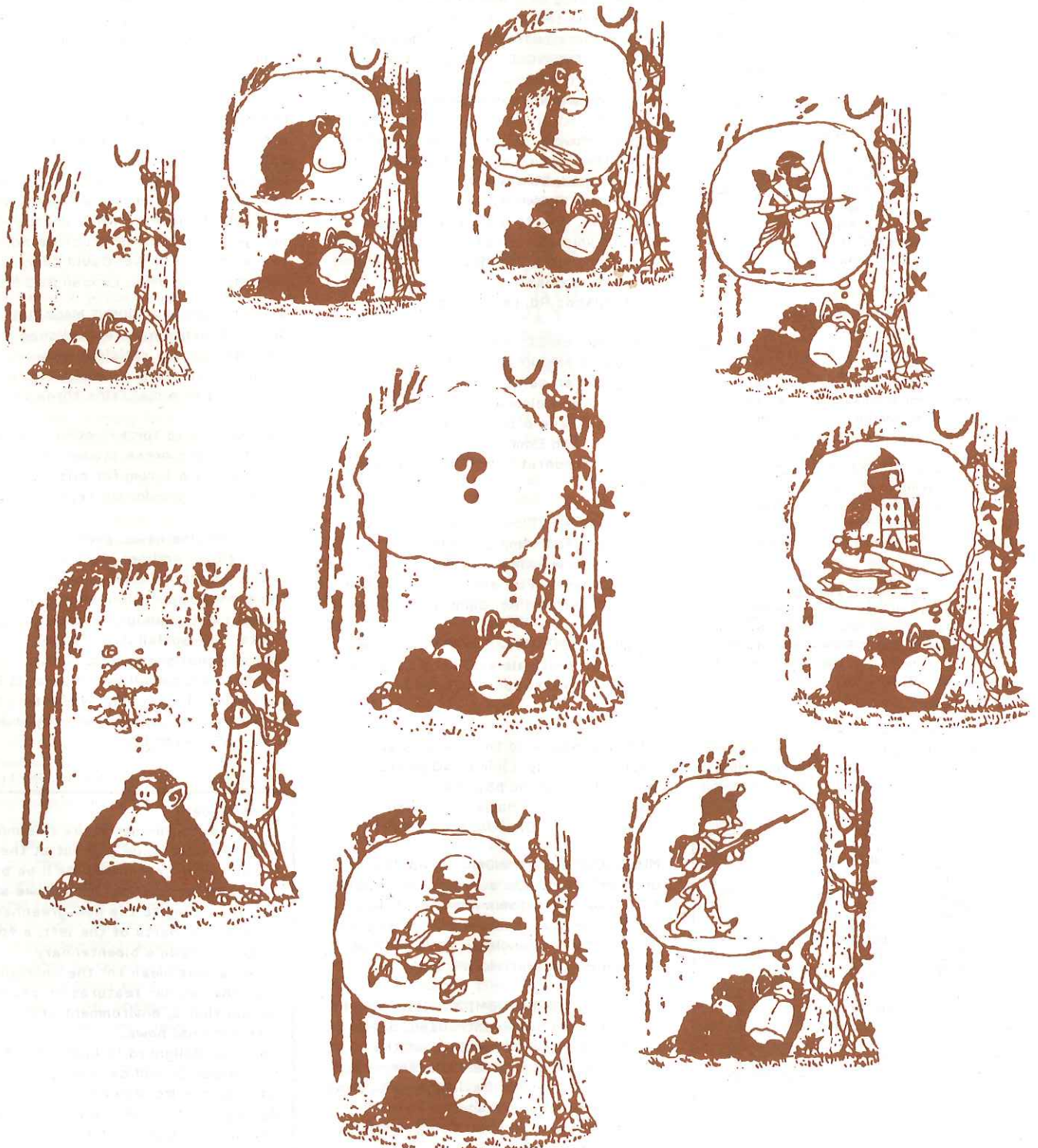
# GREEN *Line*

Susan Griffin on culture

How Marxists see greens

Plus: dams in India, the  
ALF-SG trial, RTZ a.g.m.  
and more...!

No 64 / JULY-AUGUST 1988 / 60p



# GREEN Line

No 64 / JULY-AUGUST / 60p

Green Line, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford  
(0865 245301)

Monthly magazine of  
Green politics and lifestyle

GREEN LINE is published ten times a year, and is produced by a collective based in Oxford. Green Line appears thanks to the efforts of Carole Guberman, Barry Maycock, Graham Hooper, Rachel Western, Oliver Tickell, Andy Spring, Tim Andrewes and Jerry Spring. If any other readers can offer help of any kind then we are always pleased to hear from you. Phone Jerry on 0865 724315  
Cover picture from Vegan Action Group, Glasgow

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Normal rate £6, low/unwaged £5, voluntary hi-waged "supporter subscription" £10. The "supporter" rate helps build our publishing fund (we are all unpaid); and our thanks go out to all who have contributed as supporters. Overseas readers please add £1.50 to all rates (surface mail) or enquire about airmail rates to your area.

## BULK ORDERS

5-8 copies only 50p each; 10 or more only 45p each - post free. Send cash with order first time, please; after that, if you want a regular standing order, we'll give you a month to pay. For special occasions like demos or big meetings, we'll supply you sale or return. Normally, however, we do not supply sale-or-return on monthly orders. Normal trade arrangements apply to shops etc.

## ADVERTISING

Display advertising is only £76 a page, smaller sizes pro rata, 10% off for cash with copy. Send camera-ready copy by the 10th of the month prior to publication, or enquire for our typesetting and layout charges.

## DEADLINES

The next issue is due out on SEPTEMBER 1ST. We need all news, articles, small ads etc by 15th August. In general all articles are read and discussed at a meeting of the collective in the middle of each month.

## SPECIAL OFFER!

## BACK ISSUES

Six recent back issues for £2 post free or 20 back issues for £5. Ideal for new subscribers. Please indicate which is the earliest issue you have already.



*ways forward, ways through  
and ways back - join us on  
a journey of learning, with  
the shy for a rook, trees  
and folk of all kinds as  
your friends. All sorts of  
facilities, kids welcome,  
a doorway to new things!*

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ACTIVE FOR ONE GREEN WORLD? Seeking to abolish present structures of power and exploitation by sensible peaceful means? Read the literature of The World Socialist Movement. Send £1 for "Socialism as a Practical Alternative" (48pp) and the "world Socialist" (48pp) to: THE SOCIALIST PARTY (OGW) Freepost, 52 Clapham High St, London SW4 7BR

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All from Movement for Compassionate Living the Vegan Way, 47 Highlands Rd, Leatherhead, Surrey  
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IF A HOME-BAKED, home-produced, wholefood breakfast appeals to you more than en suite bathrooms & colour TV, you'll be welcome in my thatched village cottage & smallholding between Dartmoor and Exmoor. B&b £7.50 per person. Margaret Cruft, Morchard Bishop 499

GREEN DESERT TECHNOLOGY: Spain, sun, purpose, good company; guests £60/week; working visitors (work 24hrs) £20-25/week; Full details £1 from Unit G, 22 Godesdone Rd, Cambridge CB5 8HR

FESTIVAL LISTS (free). Tree fairs, Green, folk, free festivals etc. Send S.A.E. to STONE, 45 Westwood Hill, London SE26 6NS

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RADICAL GREEN ECONOMICS... How would it work? It could be decentralised, based on local enterprise. To read about the structure and why it is necessary, read 'Economic Power' by David Simmons. Send £2.60 (including postage) to Third Avenue Press, 5 Russell Road, Northolt, Middlesex UB5 4QR

ACCOMODATION - Sussex Green Party member does B&B at £6. Camping at £1 per night. SAE details. Some work available locally - send £1 for details. SHAMROCK, 50 Brassey Avenue, Eastbourne, BN22 9QH

HELP NEEDED. Do you know anyone who would or would you live, work and learn with a group of co-workers and adolescents with varied special needs? Pennine Community consists of 4 households, craft workshops, small farm and vegetable gardens. Write to Pennine Community, Boyne Hill House, Chaphethorpe, Wakefield WF4 3JH or phone (0924) 255281

MONOLITH DISTRIBUTION, mail order books and magazines. Subjects including, prehistory, stone circles, ley lines, UFOs, archeo-astronomy, pyramids, earth mysteries. Sae for list from John Harrison, 2 Baggrave View, Barsby, Leics. LE7 8RB

COMMUNAL HOUSE SHARE in London - We are looking for more people to help set up a communal house-share in N/NE/E London where emphasis is on personal growth and shared involvement. Although we envisage renting for a short period, once we have built up trust we hope to buy a house. Contact David Cole, 18 Maresfield Gardens, London NW3 5SX

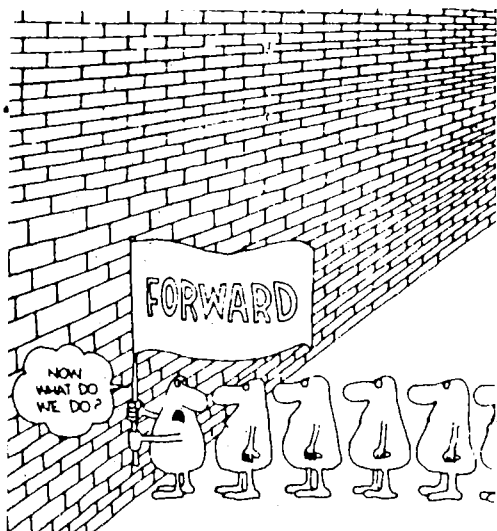
NATIONAL GREEN STUDENT MAGAZINE. Green Students have established over the last year an efficient network organisation. Part of this network is the publishing of a magazine three times a year. Its aims are to further stimulate the growth of the green student movement and provide a forum for different groups to link their previously separate concerns.

It will combine news, events and discussions. Articles are welcome on peace, environmental, feminist, green, Third World, education, employment, animal rights, labour, lesbian and gay rights, eco-socialist, lifestyle, international angles etc. The deadline for all information is 26th September. It's out 11th November. Send to Green Soc., Leeds University Union, PO N.Box 157, Leeds LS1 1UH.

PRINTED by Will Print

Dear reader,  
GL takes its Summer break this month with the next issue due out at the beginning of September. We'll be back then with an analysis of how we should be responding to the new greenness apparent in parts of the left, a focus on what Australia's bicentenary celebrations mean for the aborigines, plus the regular features on peace, animal rights, environment and international news.  
You'll be delighted to know that from September GL will be laser printed, which will improve its legibility at last. Apologies to all who've found it hard reading in its present form.

# STATE TERRORISM AND ITS ALLIES



THE PHILOSOPHY (as well as the political practice) of animal rights is much hated: hence it is savaged from time to time (if it is taken seriously at all) from far left to far right of the political spectrum. The Right is hostile and contemptuous, the Left condescending - animal rights after the revolution! It is not hard to understand why this should be so: on the one hand it pricks our conscience, and prompts our indignation; on the other hand, it exposes our complicity. The abattoir is the dark secret in the neatest urban landscape; at the heart of a peaceful rural setting lies the factory farm; while deep within our seats of learning and culture, locked away and guarded, is the vivisection lab. Animal abuse, as Bahro has said, lies at the nerve centre of 'our scientific-industrial barbarism.' Better to turn away from it, violently or with feigned indifference!

The concept of animal rights is even hated within the animal rights movement! Once when I visited Richard Course, Director of the League Against Cruel Sports, he sneered at me: "You're not one of those animal rights people, are you?" He was his usual exuberant self after demonstrations at this year's Waterloo Cup, the major annual hare coursing event, complaining to the Daily Telegraph: "If I'd had a machine gun, I'd have been more tempted to turn it on the anarchists than the hare coursing enthusiasts." At the same time Lindsay Rogers, of the League's executive committee, said of the anti-coursing demonstrators: "We have more in common with the hare coursers than we have with these people." Our enemies we can cope with; but who will save us from our friends?

Perhaps it was just as well that Dick Course wasn't sitting in judgement at the trial last month of three members of the ALF Supporters Group. In the unreal atmosphere of

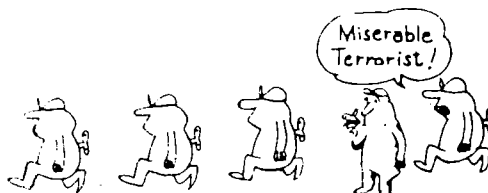
the Cardiff courtroom the dark secret of animal abuse was continually being covered up like something dirty - the skeleton in the family cupboard: the cries of the animals could not penetrate the thick legal walls. The judge, however, could have been worse: he was a lot more reasonable than the ex-Mosleyite Fascist who sentenced Ronnie Lee. In the event the sentence on Robin and Sally (9 months with 9 months suspended) was a comparatively light one. Tony Collins was acquitted.

## • The politics of 'criminality'

The trial brought up a number of issues for political activists. The first concerns the use of a 'conspiracy' charge to draw a net round several people at once: a matter of guilt by association. This charge has been used effectively in the case of the Sharpeville Six,



under sentence of death in South Africa. Secondly, there is this business of 'incitement'. According to the judge, the point at issue was the 'intention' of the accused to incite; and intentions are closely tied in with beliefs. At one point, under cross examination, Robin exclaimed: "but I'm not on trial for what I think!" An honest judge might then have exclaimed: "But this is EXACTLY why you are on trial!"



Thoughtcrime, precisely! There was also the nature of the trial itself, which was unashamedly political, and at the same time, during its long course, effectively depoliticised in various ways: The emphasis on 'criminal damage' implied mere acts of vandalism; the prosecutor spoke of 'criminal damage', the defendants of 'direct action'. As we all know, damage to property is a serious offence: the state, based as it is on the property system, naturally frames its laws to protect private property above all; thus its most logical weapon is the neutron bomb, which kills living creatures but

leaves property intact. Similarly, court cases of anti-nuclear demonstrators are made to revolve around trivial issues of legal bye-laws rather than genocide and the end of the world. However, the tables can be turned. During one Cruisewatch trial I remember the state prosecutor, pin-striped and dripping with oily charm, asking the defendant: "Don't you think it's irresponsible to break laws that are devised for the protection of the public?" To which the defendant replied: "I beg your pardon, but don't you think that such laws are being used as a screen for state terrorism?" Collapse of smug prosecutor!

## • 'Terroristes' and the tabloids

Another issue concerns the media. The press was at its notorious worst after the trial, intertwining factual reporting with the old familiar expressions, 'terror', 'violence', 'fanatics', 'extremists', scattered like a leitmotif throughout the text. Even in the so-called 'quality' dailies, fact was spiced with fiction in such a way that readers could only swallow them both together. As for the tabloids, everyone thinks they are a joke, but the effect of their lies is nonetheless cumulative, like the constant dripping of a tap: they even set the political agenda nowadays. None of them really made any attempt to distinguish the ALF from the ALF SG, a crucial point throughout the trial; also, on the one hand the ALF was supposed to be 'in tatters' (The Daily Telegraph), while at the same time being strong enough to launch a new 'terror' campaign 'to show they are not beaten!' (The Daily Mail). Much of the misreporting is wilful, mixed in with sheer ignorance.

The loathsome Daily Mail focused on Sally Carr in a full page feature: "Girl who could not have a pet became paymaster [sic] for terror!" This account of Sally seemed designed to titillate; I was reminded of Andrea Dworkin's comment: "Chains are sexy when women wear them, prisons are sexy when women are in them, pain is sexy when women hurt": 'girl terrorist' as sex-object. This media world of generals and firebombs and IRA-type 'cells' merely reflects, as in a mirror, its own rabid obsessions; but Benn-like whingeings about the 'meeja' are not enough: there are many things we can do to make sure our own publications reach a wide readership (e.g. using free newspapers sponsored by 'alternative' advertising). In the meantime some street theatre may be necessary: public tabloid burnings, for example!

• Let this be a warning...

The fate of the ALF should remind us of what will happen to any group that tries to strike at the heart of state power. At the same time, it is futile to think of undermining the state, bypassing it, dissolving it, taking it over, while the economic system remains intact; because the state exists to defend and promote that system. The peace movement is only treated lightly because its NVDA is largely symbolic, part of a process of asking the state to be a little less nasty; and the Greens will even be encouraged, as long as they alert capitalism to various dangers (warning lights on the dashboard of the capitalist juggernaut), so that it can clean up its act; and it will gladly do so, whenever it is in its own interests. But if they ever come close to upsetting things they will be ruthlessly put down. We know what the state can do: it will lie, cheat, torture and kill; but it needn't come to that. First it will destroy by the power of the word. 'Unilateralism' is the rope from which the Labour party dangles: left-wing councils will be forever 'loony'; the ALF will consist of 'animal terrorists' even though no-one has ever been hurt.

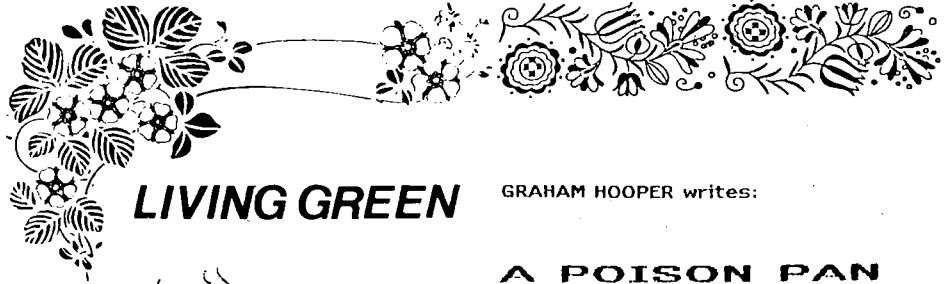
Not that the state is all-powerful; though based ultimately on force it still needs our consent and complicity. But in this country the naked violence of power is veiled - behind smokescreens of the law, bureaucratic wheels within wheels, while on an economic level capitalism turns everything into a commodity. All things Green are eagerly bought and sold: rebellion is turned into money. Only when Green books are seized, offices raided, activists put on trial - as has happened to the ALF SG - then and only then will it be brought home to us, only then will we know; that we are beginning to hurt.

• BARRY MAYCOCK

As GL went to press Robin Lane's address is WF0788, HM Prison, Knox Road, Cardiff, CF2 1UG and Sally Carr's T82342, HM Remand Centre, Pucklechurch, Bristol BS17 3QJ. Sally's birthday is on July 15th, and Robin's is on August 21st.

\* \*\*\* \*

ANDREW CLARKE and Geoff Sheppard, charged with carrying out three incendiary attacks on Debenham's stores in Harrow, Luton and Romford last July, have been convicted. Geoff was sentenced to two years for the attacks and a further two years for having articles with intent to damage property, which he denied. He received a further four months for breaking a butcher's window. Clarke got two years for the attacks plus 18 months for possession with intent to cause damage.



## LIVING GREEN



### VEGAN RESTAURANT AND HOLIDAY GUIDE

Anyone wondering where they could find restaurants or holidays providing vegan food may welcome the recent publication of the Vegan Society's "The Vegan Holiday and Restaurant Guide". It lists, and gives details of, eating places and holiday accommodation here and abroad, as well as special interest holidays, where vegan food is available.

The guide is in an easy-to-read format for easy finding of suitable restaurants etc., and comes in a very handy pocket size. The price, though, at £2.50, seems a little steep. Look out for it at your local green bookshop; alternatively, it is available through mail order from The Vegan Society, 33-35 George Street, Oxford OX1 2AY.

GRAHAM HOOPER writes:

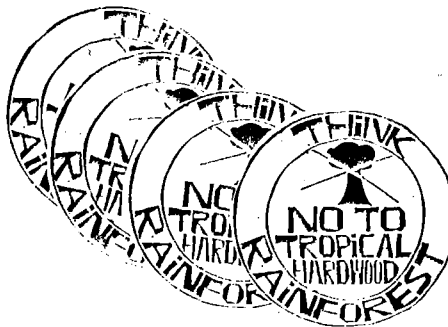
### A POISON PAN LETTER...

Dear Reader,

Do you know that aluminium pots and pans are poisonous? Aluminium is actually toxic and (according to an article in Fair Exchange); it will dissolve into foods cooked in aluminium pans. Acid foods will clean aluminium ware and water boiled in an aluminium pot for a long time will become milky due to the presence of aluminium particles. Apparently many foods react with aluminium, some with dire consequences. People have been known to become sick after eating fish cooked in milk or custard that has been left to stand for some hours in the pan. According to one report, 200 people who attended a chicken supper contracted ptomaine poisoning with at least 12 becoming seriously ill. Doctors declared that the entire supply of gravy had been poisoned as a result of its being left too long in the aluminium pan before being reheated.

Another reaction of the body to aluminium is the gradual development of bowel trouble, with gas forming in the stomach or bowel.

## HARDWOOD DIRECT ACTION



Oxford FoE are selling rainforest labels for you to stick on people's hardwood windows, doors, furniture etc. and especially in shops - it really messes up the pretty polythene wrappings when the shop tries to peel off the stickers. The tropical hardwood campaign is working quite effectively at the exporters' end so let's do something here as well. The stickers are 20p per sheet of 12 from Oxford FoE, 379 Meadow Lane, Oxford OX4 4BL

## POTATO YAHNI

Here's a simple dish from First Steps:

2 1/2lb potatoes  
1lb onions  
1lb tomatoes  
1tbs raw cane sugar  
1/4pt olive oil  
A bay leaf  
Salt and pepper

Peel potatoes and cut into small uniform pieces. Chop onions finely, chop tomatoes. Fry onions in the oil till golden brown. Add tomatoes and simmer with sugar and bay leaf till soft. Add potatoes, salt and pepper and enough water to half cover them. Cook till potatoes are soft and the sauce is thick. Then you'll have Potato Yahnii.

'FIRST STEPS' is the latest booklet from Arc Print. It contains recipes "for the person wanting to turn vegetarian", though the meals are, in fact, vegan. This is somewhat surprising, since most people take their 'first steps' away from meat-eating by consuming loads of dairy products. Available from Arc Print, 285 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4.



## BST: MILKING BIO-TECHNOLOGY

### BUDDHISTS TOUCH THE EARTH

The Buddhists Peace Fellowship is organising a 3 day retreat - "Touching our Earth". The retreat aims at exploring our inter-connectedness with nature, the earth and each other, using group activities and meditations. It will take a buddhist approach to Deep Ecology although non-buddhists are most welcome to attend. The facilitator is Pat Flemming who has had long experience in Deep Ecology workshops.

The retreat will be held at Swalletts Farm, in the Mendip Hills from Friday 28th to Monday 29th August. The cost is £40w/£30uw all inc. (booking deposit £15). Further details from Martin Pitt, 38 Arnos St., Bristol BS8 3BS.

### SOCIAL INVENTIONS AWARDS

The Annual Jamboree of the Institute of Social Inventions is at Covent Garden this Year (see Diary for details). Entrants have to have shown "an imaginative solution to a social problem, or a new way of improving the quality of life." There is a diverse line-up including Advocates for Posterity, Debt for Nature Swaps, Moscow Foundation for Social Inventions, Gardens for Health, the Prison Ashram Project... and many others. Promises to be an interesting morning and an opportunity to hear from people who don't otherwise get recognition in our techno-military society.

### YOUNG GREENS GATHERING

The third annual Young Greens Gathering is being held at Middle Ludhill Farm, Farnley Tyas, 3 miles from Huddersfield, from Fri. 5th to Sun. 7th of August. An added attraction to the events is a treasure hunt on the Saturday in the "Last of the Summer Wine" town of Holmfirth. The cost will be £8 including food. Further details and bookings from Pete Hardy, 28 Sutton St., Birkby, Huddersfield, West Yorks. Tel: 66165

What do you do if you're a chemicals multinational and your market seems a little stagnant? Why, you create a totally superfluous product, preferably one that ties the user to you in perpetuity. And, according to C4's Dispatches recently, that's just what four US companies, Monsanto, Ely Lilly, Upjohn and Cyanamid, are doing with Bovine Somatotropin (BST).

BST, only the first of what promises to be a line of biotech products, increases milk yields by up to 20%. It still has to get approval and controversy rages over the safety tests, largely done by the companies themselves; the long-term effects are of course anyone's guess. The dairy industry certainly didn't ask for this product and small farms especially won't be able to raise the capital to compete in the new biotech era. The cows, already working the equivalent of a 14 hour coal face shift a day (where's Buttercup Scargill?), will do two more hours. (A Monsanto spokesman described it as "naturally helping cows that don't produce the right amount of milk!")

But profits are all these days (BST may have \$50m p.a. market) and the companies have pooled resources following their damaging defeat in the EEC over cattle hormones. This time, to try and recoup \$400m R&D costs, they've mounted an extraordinary campaign of lobbying and arm twisting before the product's even been passed safe, and then have the cheek to complain at the suspicions of greens, consumer groups and farmers.

Britain has a crucial part in this because the Tories are reckoned to be the softest touch. The companies

intend to get BST passed here so as to have more credibility with the EEC regulators. And they certainly have a staunch ally in John Selwyn-Gummer, who came across in the programme as if he had an industry gun held to his head. He trotted out all the usual cliches: "Mustn't be Luddite", he crowed; your fears are just "scare stories put out by politically biased people", he bleated;

the EEC shouldn't make "arbitrary decisions based on emotions" he squealed - his voice, by this point, quivering with ...erm... emotion.

This particular battle extends beyond BST, however. If the EEC can stifle this product then we have a chance of controlling the drive by these companies to force us into using a whole new range of biotech creations. If we lose then agrobusiness will get more technological, more intensive, even more appalling for the animals and the environment; everything, in fact, that greens are opposing. So make your voice heard to your MP, milk supplier etc. Or why not just give the stuff up?



SELWYN-GUMMER REASSURES THE WAITING BRITISH PUBLIC

## KENSINGTON BY-ELECTION

Just a few weeks after Kensington Green Party had finally paid off their General Election debts, the death of Conservative MP, Sir Brandon Rhys Williams, is plunging them back into the red and renewed electoral activity.

Phyllip Hobson, the prospective Green candidate and a brave 19-year-old, is keen to make youth issues an important part of his campaign: the very fact that he would not be able to enter Parliament, were he to win the by-election in July, is held to be symbolic of youth's more general lack of status in a society which allows 18-year-olds to fight in wars and take out mortgages, yet neglects such basic rights as adequate housing and satisfying, properly-paid employment.

Other issues the Greens will be raising include the poverty and run-down accommodation in the north of the constituency; the Poll Tax, which seems already to account for a significant drop in electoral registration in the area; and a planned motorway, passing along the edge of Kensington. While the other parties have accepted the road scheme, only the Greens refuse to recognise the need for the increasing volume of through-traffic; instead, they challenge the whole concept of commuting, and emphasise

the importance of public transport as a solution to traffic congestion.

At the last election, the Tories had a majority of 4,447 votes over Labour, the Alliance coming a low third. The Greens won 528 votes (1.7%), with only a 'paper' candidate and very little campaigning. This time, however, the local party is to be supported fully by the London area parties, who between them have a wealth of experience and election skills. Phyllip may also benefit from the divided centre parties. As we go to print, there are three 'ex-Alliance' candidates: one SLD, one SDP and one Liberal; additional, if frivolous competition will come from candidates as diverse as Cynthia Payne and the Prince Charles Appreciation Society.

A local activist, Nikl Kortvelyessy, was unwilling to predict how the Greens might do, but reports that they are determined to be treated seriously by both electors and the media.

All offers of help will be warmly welcomed: money is desperately needed to fund the deposit and leaflets, and accommodation will be provided for activists willing to help with the campaign. Send any correspondence to David Stutchfield, 2a Dawson Place, London W2.

♦ TIM ANDREWES

## SHARING WEEKS

The New University is holding two Skills & Knowledge Sharing Summer Camps. The first is in West Wales, 16-23 July; the second is in Suffolk, 3-10 Sept. Price including food is £3.50/1.50 per day. Bring your own clothes, dwelling, spoon, books, arts n' crafts, music etc. etc... Come and do your own workshop. More info from 24 South Rd, Hockley, Birmingham 18.

## GREEN DIARY

### JULY

- 8-10th. Peace Pledge Union summer camp, Parham, Suffolk. 01 387 5501
- 8-10th. Cycling Weekend at Lower Shaw Farm, £30-35. LSF, Shaw, Swindon, Wilts (0793) 771080
- 9th. Co-ordinating Animal Welfare (CAW) meeting at The Yorker, Mansfield Road, Nottingham at 1pm. Leafletting and vigil. CAW: (0272) 428969
- 13th. Social Invention Award Winners Ceremony at Donmar Warehouse Theatre, Covent Garden, London. 11.30-1.30pm 01 229 7253
- 16th. Blackpool Cavalcade against the Blackpool Tower Circus and Blackpool Zoo. Cars assemble at 1.30pm in Squire's Gate Lane.
- 16-18th. Nelson Mandela birthday celebrations all over the country including rally outside SA Embassy, Trafalgar Square.
- 23rd. Fire Aid 2 Festival, Craigtoun Country Park, St Andrews, Fife. Music, dancing, stalls etc. Phone (0334) 74077
- 25-31st. Lower Shaw Farm, Summer Activities Week. £80-90
- 30th. People's Carnival March against Vivisection, Southampton. Culmination of NAVS Biohazard Campaign. Details: Mike Nunn, 19a Amherst Rd, Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex TN40 1QH (0424) 730154

### AUGUST

- 1st. Lamas/Lughusadh
- 5-7th. Young Greens Gathering, Huddersfield (0484) 661650. See Network.
- 6th. Cantlin Stone Free Festival
- 8th. Glastonbury Tor Festival Gathering on 8th of the 8th of the 8th.
- 8th-14th. Lower Shaw Farm. Stretching Out. Yoga, massage, dance etc. £80-90
- 13th. Fleskwater Fair, County Antrim. (0265) 832301
- 13th. National Day of Action against grouse shooting, organised by the Hunt Saboteurs Association, PO Box 87, Exeter EX4 3TX.
- 19-21st. Cissbury Ring Free Festival, Worthing, Essex
- 26-29th. Touching Our Earth Deep Ecology meeting. See Network.

### SEPTEMBER

- 1-4th. Rough Tor Festival, Camelford, Cornwall
- 3rd. International Peace Day
- 10th. Anti Yuppie Day



## GREEN SUMMER CELEBRATION

Bring and share YOUR skills, music and resources, and help create a living green community to celebrate the summer and ourselves. This will be a time for being together, making connections, relaxing and feeling our community. You will need to bring your own camping equipment. On site there will be covered communal spaces, a children's area, a well-being space, toilets and tubs, etc. There will also be a camp shop, vegetarian cafes, stalls and firewood. Please no dogs or amplified music.

Tickets from EOA Bookshop, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford, or Swindon

Pulse, 27 Curtis Street, Swindon, or on the gate: for the weekend, £4 low/unwaged, £8 waged for the five days, £10 and £20. No charge for children. Any profits to Amnesty International and local green initiatives. Further info from Adam Twine, Colleymore Farm, Coleshill, Highworth, Wiltshire. 0367 20508.



Network compiled by  
GRAHAM HOOPER



## BULGARIA'S GAS CHAMBER

Eastern European countries have seen increasing signs of discontent over the environmental and health costs of the last forty years of all-out industrialism (e.g. see GL58 on Czechoslovakia). Recent strikes at the Nowa Huta steel works near Krakow in Poland were not solely about wages and food shortages: there was also anger at the dangerously polluted state of the town. Last year events came to a head in Bulgaria with arrests, sackings and news clampdowns over ecological issues in the northern town of Rousse.

Rousse receives a constant cloud of chlorine gas from a copper smelter over the border in Rumania and the effects on health have been well documented. Cases of lung disease have increased by over 17 times from 1975 to 1985 and nearly 150,000 children and adults received hospital attention in 1986 for lung complaints. When several thousand families fled the city the authorities imposed a ban on out-migration. Last September, two national figures, Svetlin Roussev and Neshka Robeva, both members of the National Assembly, attempted to form a national environmental organisation. They, along with others, were promptly arrested - since when the media has been notably quiet about ecological issues.

Unlike Stalinist Rumania next door, Bulgaria has been showing its own signs of glasnost, but it appears that for the Communist Party leadership it is just too threatening for people to publicly question the current style of industrial production, never mind the fact that it appears to be killing the very people whose futures it was supposed to secure.

### • How to lose a sea

A different ecological problem is reaching a crisis in the southern Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan where the Aral Sea is disappearing. One fishing 'port' now lies 30 miles from the sea and its canning factories are supplied with frozen fish freighted all the way down from arctic Murmansk. The basic problem is the intensive irrigated agriculture of the region that supplies large proportions of Soviet cotton, fruit and rice. The great rivers Amu-Darya (Oxus) and Sir-Darya used to replenish the Aral sea but over the last 30 years have been increasingly diverted into irrigation. And, inevitably, the returns are dwindling as fields get salinised and the dry floor of the Aral sea spawns gigantic salt-dust storms that devastate the crops.

Hence the often-touted technological plan of rerouting the Siberian rivers southward is being dusted off again by the worried Uzbekistan authorities. However, the Russians in Moscow are reluctant, more for racist reasons about losing 'their' rivers than ecological concern for possible climatic consequences. Ironically, to leave the Uzbek authorities to their fate may well lead to the best long-term solutions as they are forced to move away from large-scale monoculture and wasteful water use, instead of propping up an unsustainable agriculture by yet another giant technological fix. Without change, there is the real possibility that the region will be headed for some of the environmental and human catastrophes that have been seen in the Sahel.

## SARAWAK

### UPDATE

The tribal blockade against logging which was ended by a police crackdown last October (see GL58) started up again in early May this year. The tribal representatives met in February and reported dire effects on their people of the intensive logging: rivers are silted up and being polluted, natural medicines are no longer available from the wrecked forests, and food is scarce.

The Sarawak government has again threatened to intervene and further arrests were expected after the tribals were warned to dismantle the barricades. The companies affected are W.T.K. Logging and Limbang Trading - which is owned by the Minister for Environment and Tourism, Mr James Wong (see GL60 for some of his choice opinions). There are no details of arrests yet and the barricades may still be up.

It is thought that the Sarawak government will invoke the new Forest Amendment Act which gives government forestry officials powers to arrest without a warrant and makes it a criminal offence to obstruct logging operations whether or not they are being carried out on land claimed by tribal peoples. Stiff penalties of fines and imprisonment apply under the Act. Moreover, the costs to the loggers of dismantling the barricades can be charged to the protesters.

Survival International and FoE are appealing yet again to the authorities to resolve the issue by negotiation and not oppression. Your complaints to the Malaysian High Commission do help: recently the Malaysians sent a high-powered delegation over here to counter the bad press they've been getting and the success of FoE's campaign. Write to The Commissioner, Office of the High Commission of Malaysia, 45 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QT

### ANYTHING ON ITALY?

Rumour has it that the Italian greens had great success in their recent local elections. Unfortunately, GL's phone card ran out before we could find our way into their right-on decentralist organisation for news of the results. If anyone of you out there can tell us more then please write!



### FRENCH ELECTION NEWS

Les Verts' presidential candidate, Antoine Waechter, took 3.8% in the first round and then 11% as a parliamentary candidate for Haut Rhine in the General Election following Mitterand's victory. The French Greens suffered from the media obsession with 'cohabitation' issues and in fact boycotted the General Election - ostensibly as a protest, France having dropped proportional representation. In reality the greens appear to be somewhat bedraggled, with financial worries, election fatigue and personality battles among the men at the top of the party. Symptomatic perhaps is the depressing sight of former green hero of the 1970s, Brice Lalonde, apparently selling out to become Minister of the Environment in the recently formed Rocard Cabinet - although the inconclusive election results may see an immediate reshuffle. It's not clear what he can expect to achieve within a pro-nuclear centrist coalition government. We shall see...

## TOES AND DEBT

SO THE WORLD'S seven biggest egos have met in Toronto and, judging from their communique, they're well pleased with themselves. I'm sure the Third World poor will be grateful to hear about the world's "longest period of economic growth in post-war history". On debt, the seven show little recognition of the damage that IMF programmes are doing to the debtor nations: "The market-oriented, growth-led strategy based on the case-by-case approach remains the only viable approach for overcoming their external debt problems." They clearly haven't read Susan George's book A Fate Worse than Debt (see GL61). A watered-down version of Lawson's plan for debt relief for the African countries has been adopted, but it is still relief with strings attached in terms of conditionality. All of which is particularly depressing having heard the arguments at a meeting on debt in May, that seem to come from another world to that of the preening summitteers.

The Other Economic Summit (TOES) met then to consider the debt crisis with a particular effort to include voices from the debtor nations. For me it was a chance too to hear from Susan George herself. As it turned out, she had a hard time defending her position on the inadvisability of mass defaulting, which raised a number of important issues of strategy.

The present situation is clearly insupportable and all appeared to agree that an immediate moratorium on interest payments is essential to give the debtor economies space to recover from the ravages of IMF austerity programmes. The question then is how to solve the problem in the long-term. One camp, including Susan George, reckoned that by changing the 'conditionality' attached to new loans from fiscal to social and ecological criteria it would be possible for debtor nations to pay off most of their debt and help them toward some kind of sustainable development. For others, including Professor Bade Onimode of Nigeria and Sue Branford (author of The Debt Squads, a more radical analysis of the crisis) there had to be more than just a moratorium; it was necessary to write off large portions of debt, and for some countries, all of it.

### • Questions of strategy

Underlying these differences were two crucial questions concerning our attitudes on sovereignty and on the role of global capitalism.

Taking sovereignty, it was clear that some at the conference were not happy about the North yet again imposing their views on development in the South - even if we think we have the right solutions this time. And it is not clear we do anyway. For example, the received wisdom of no-growth was ludicrous in

the Nigerian context since people were currently starving. There had to be growth and quite a lot of it before Nigeria could 'think green'. I remember the incomprehension on Bade Onimode's face at one point when someone appeared to be suggesting that Nigerians should live like the Amazonian Indians - in total harmony with nature etc. etc. Now it might be that this is the only answer to the world's problems but it just struck me as so arrogant for someone from the comfy middle-class North to be telling someone from the often very uncomfortable South how to live.

For Onimode and Eli Mwanang'onze of Zambia, the North has no right to tell Third World countries what to do, they can perhaps offer advice. Debtors should be allowed to keep all export earnings, to repatriate all capital flight and decide for themselves what to do with that money.

On the other hand, as Susan George pointed out more than once, a total moratorium rewards the most oppressive regimes as much as the most progressive. Can it be justified for a greedy thug like Mobutu of Zaire (reckoned to have US\$5 billion stashed away abroad) to be let off completely? It doesn't seem the most effective way to force change in the country. For Susan George, this proves the need for radical conditionality that forces dictators like Mobutu towards democracy and sustainable, just development. We should note that even this would be highly radical for the fiscal psychopaths in the IMF or for U.S. foreign policy which currently keeps quiet about Zaire in order to supply Savimbi's UNITA in Angola.

The sovereignty issue is doubly embarrassing for the North in that the creations of colonialism have inevitably created tensions, particularly over indigenous peoples and minority groups left in the wrong nation by the arbitrary drawing up of boundaries by the Europeans. Often it is these groups who suffer most in the current rush for industrial development. So the Brazilian government accuses us of neo-colonialism when we complain about dam projects in Amazonia but we have to point out that in effect they are using the concept of the Brazilian State to justify acts of imperialism and genocide against the Amazonian tribal peoples who themselves have no stake in this European creation of 'Brazil'.

There is a fine line between the kind of pontificating which must annoy people in the South and the necessary intervention over moral issues of justice and ecological destruction. Given the weight of colonial history, we can only have credibility if we are seen to be doing all we can to develop the North towards a sustainable, equitable economy. It is the North that consumes 70% of the world's resources; is it any wonder that the South is destroying itself, scrabbling around to feed, clothe and employ 3/4 of the earth's people on

the leftovers?

### • Is capitalism reformable?

Which leads to the second issue, that of capitalism itself. If we are to move the North to a sane economic system the rich are going to get a lot poorer. It follows that since the rich are highly unlikely to voluntarily relinquish their money, it will have to be taken from them on a local and global scale. Now Susan George's approach to the long-term solution of the debt crisis, whilst eminently sensible, just and radical, still tries to use the mechanisms of global capitalism to effect a change that would render it unrecognizable. And those currently benefiting - the North and South elites, the TNCs, the geopoliticians - aren't going to let that happen. That is to say, global capitalism (or industrialism if you prefer) is incapable of reform; it has to be broken.

That appeared to be the view of the participants from the debtor nations. Bade Onimode knows that the Third World will have to develop another way since, unlike the Europeans, "they have no other people to enslave to create the foreign exchange." The North is never going to take the issue of global justice seriously until they are really threatened. Sue Branford and others felt that since the debtor countries have immense power they should use it to change the very norms of the world's economy rather than be forced to adjust to currently imposed norms: they should overthrow capitalism. Judging by that sense of subliminal tut-tutting I felt from the conference participants during Sue Branford's speech, many found the idea of overthrowing capitalism a bit too radical - which is odd since I thought that was what TOES was all about. More seriously, there is the point that such a mass default could fail and debtor nations, more particularly their destitute peoples, could end up starved into submission by the North. There is no doubt, from what Susan George had to say, that there are people in powerful positions who would welcome that with gleeful vindictiveness.

I thought I had been convinced by Susan George's book, but the sense of anger, of injustice, coming from the speakers from the debtor nations has certainly made me think again about default. What is needed now is a rigorous study to anticipate the political and economic effects of a mass default and to draw up a strategy. At present, the debtors are not able to unite effectively. That has to change. Finally, we in the North have to get debt onto the front pages; to make people understand that millions are dying from it; to shame our governments into providing some short-term alleviation for the debtors. Resolution of the debt crisis could be a lever towards achieving the kind of world greens are seeking. It's up to us to use it.

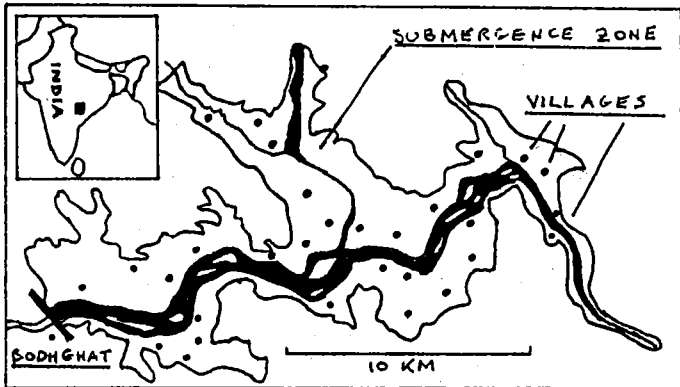
• JERRY SPRING



India has seen one third of its agricultural land turned into wasteland by erosion, waterlogging or salinisation and another third is also at risk; ten million trees are cut down every day; power-pumping for intensive agriculture and industry has lowered the country's water table by an average of 25 to 30 metres in a single decade. In the midst of the disastrous ecological and human consequences of 'development', the World Bank and the Indian government are still considering grandiose and destructive dam projects. OLIVER TICKELL considers one in Madhya Pradesh that still might be stopped given enough pressure.

## VALLEY OF PLENTY OR LAKE OF TEARS? THE WORLD BANK STRIKES AGAIN!

RASTAR DISTRICT in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh is one of the country's last remaining forested areas, settled by tribal people since at least the 13th century. The beautiful Indravati river and its tributary the Bhavardia pass through Rastar, and at Bodhghat the river narrows down and the sides of the valley steepen dramatically - a fact that has not escaped the notice of India's industrial lobby of dam builders and electricity generators, nor has its relative proximity to the industrial north of the state.



A series of dams is now planned for the Indravati river, of which Bodhghat (Indira Sarovar) is but the first. It is designed to produce 107MW of electricity to be supplied to the grid at times of peak consumption. Despite the scale of the project, which would (if approved) flood some 13,000 hectares of forest, villages and agricultural land, displace around 10,000 tribal people and add up to US\$1bn to India's rapidly growing foreign debt, the amount of electricity to be generated, and used only at peak times, is pitifully small - about 1/20th of the output of Didcot power station near Oxford.

It will come as no surprise that the World Bank is a major partner in the project, having approved US\$300m for the project (60% of the cost at 1983 prices) based on a rapid appraisal of the technical and financial aspects of the dam. It seems that the environmental and social aspects of their appraisal were glossed over and that only subsequently has the Bank sought to include mitigatory measures. But is mitigation really enough?

### • A mitigated disaster

The valley itself is fertile and lushly forested, the tribal people of the valley (mainly of the Halba, Muria, Maria, Dorla, Pargali, Bhatia and Kuruk groups) have, over the centuries, built up elaborate terraces of rain-fed paddy fields whose fertility is annually replenished by the leaf litter washed down from the forests above by the monsoon rains. The forest itself provides numerous essential materials: for building and basketmaking, firewood, fodder and browsing, tubers and roots which may be eaten in times of famine, Sal (a much prized slow-growing hardwood), and the forest abounds in wild animals - tiger, leopard, deer, antelope, bear, boar and

the increasingly rare wild bison (guar). The large well-maintained homesteads are surrounded by groves of fruit trees, and the river is rich in fish, an important source of protein.

To compensate for the loss of all this, the government is proposing the following programme:

- (minimal) cash compensation for those few with 'legal title' to their lands
- resettlement, often in distant parts, supposedly with plans to maintain communities and cultural ties.

Four villages were 'displaced' by the preliminary construction. The population has been broken up and scattered piecemeal on tiny infertile plots of land, or in the communal forests of other communities outside the submergence zone. Other 'oustees' are still awaiting resettlement three years later. As Ishwar Singh, a tribal headman, told Marcus Colchester of Survival International following a visit to the promised lands, "It was just stones and there was not a drop of water. Not even grass would grow there." He is also sceptical of promises of development: "The government is always talking of development. Instead they are bringing destruction to us in the name of development." And he is in no doubt of the benefits of their traditional ways. "I am proud of my way of life. Here we are living with our cattle, our crops and the forest nearby. In Bhopal and Delhi, they all live in rows, one next to the other. We cannot live like that. It would make us sick."

Another aspect of the problem which is apparently beyond the understanding of the development lobby is the deep spiritual ties that tribal peoples have with their ancestral lands. Even where reasonable 'mitigatory measures' are taken, the removal of these people from their lands is a crushing blow that can destroy their spirit and will to survive.

But the tribal people of Rastar have no intention of moving: "We will not go. We will wait here with our children until the waters overwhelm us and we will die here." Fortunately, they are not alone in their struggle. They have the support of the Rastar Society for the Conservation of Nature, WWF (India) and the Bombay Natural History Society in opposing the dam. But these groups are more concerned about the priceless value of the natural resources than about the people. To make sure that the tribal peoples' interests are not neglected in the ensuing debate, write to:

Ragiv Ghandi  
The Prime Minister  
PM Secretariat  
South Block  
New Delhi 110011  
INDIA

Barber Conable  
President  
The World Bank  
1818 H Street NW  
Washington DC 20433  
U.S.A.

calling for the complete cancellation of this disastrous project. Cancellation is still a real possibility as the project has still not been approved by India's central government as environmentally sound. Your lobbying could help make the difference.

For more info contact Survival International, 310 Edgware Rd, London W2 1DY

• What can you say about our culture's treatment of nature and the military character of our society?

◦ Well, they're very obviously connected in terms of effects. For instance, the environment is now toxic with radiation waste, and radiation waste works synergistically with other kinds of pollution. It exacerbates the effects of the damage from pollution. So that just the problem of radiation waste alone and contamination from sites all over the world is very serious ecologically.

But there's a whole different way also to understand that connection, which is psychologically and philosophically. In much of my work in Woman and Nature (W&N) and Pornography and Silence, I looked at the way that this culture has a very problematic and alienated relationship with nature in which we posit basically the illusion that we can control nature. And we do that in two ways: one is through actually, directly controlling nature; and the other is through the the creation of the category of 'otherness'. (I am taking that language from Simone de Beauvoir who first began to speak in that way, referring to the female as the second sex.) And I think that's the paradigm category.

Then other categories follow suit, such as racism, and the creation of an enemy in a warfare mentality. Nuclear weapons have all been created in the context of the Cold War, in which we have an enemy, and the enemy is communism, the Soviet Union - the other guy who has a whole different approach to life. In the categorisation of the other, what goes on is that we imagine ourselves to be separate from nature and above nature. This shows in the religious idea that somehow the spirit is in distinction to the flesh; and the flesh belongs to the Devil, the spirit to God. Through the theology of this particular civilisation, women got identified with the flesh and the Devil. That was Eve's role in the Fall. And that identification is very deeply embedded in our iconography and all our mythology and all our thinking, really. It's there as a substrata that has nothing to do with women, including thought about war.

In addition to that, the same qualities that we ascribe to women we also project pretty much on the enemy, whoever the enemy is, or on the category of the other - black people, Jews - depending who the focus is on. For instance, in the theological thinking of the Middle Ages, the interpretation of Eve's Fall was that she brought death into the world. If you think about that, if you're going to be projecting nature onto the other, then of course, that other does bring death into the world. Because it's nature that has mortality, that has movement, that has life-cycles embedded into it. And it's that cyclical, natural process over which we do not have control that this culture has tried to remain in control of and tried to dominate. So that, if you can dominate a woman, you can in a sense believe that you are not going to die.

I think the same thing is going on in this case with the Soviet Union - it could be anyone, picked out as an enemy. We look at them and the arms race, for instance, we look at them as death. And if we can have more arms than they do, we have vanquished death... But that just doesn't hold any more. Quantity ceases to matter with nuclear weapons: that's not what it's about. And the Pentagon fully knows that. But they're in a sort of psychological warfare. Literally there's some belief or illusion they're holding on to that if they have more of these magical weapons then they're going to keep death away. It's very primal sort of thought.

• Your work brings together so much detail about the deprivations of this civilisation that I almost lose hope. It's so monolithic that I wonder how we can get out of it?

◦ It's true that it's monolithic. But if you look at it like an illness that this culture is under the shadow of - and there are various degrees of severity - and someone who has it to a severe degree, sometimes they express it as a severe racist or a Nazi. But another thing that's available to them is to be a rapist or a pornographer.

SUSAN GRIFFIN is an influential feminist whose work Silence and a collection of poems in Unremembered war. Here she talks to the Canadian magazine The has brought us to the brink.

# Celebratin



*Cosmic Mountain-Goddess  
on Harris, Scotland.  
Monica Sjoo 9.87*

They're basically all expressions of the same illness. Someone who is severely ill with that - for whatever reasons - what's happening with them is that they have this system provided by the culture that is supposedly airtight that makes them feel they have power over nature, power over life, over existence. Then what happens is that they take in a breath, or they feel sleepy, or they have a sexual feeling they didn't think they would have at a given moment, or they get hungry - their own body is nature, doing something to them, shaking them up. So they respond by getting more dominating, more aggressive. This is something I explained in P&S: that far from pornography being a catharsis for those people who have a tendency in this direction, it can actually push them towards violence, because it's lending strength to that desire and telling them they can have power. But then every time they start to believe that, their whole body proves them wrong. So they have to up the ante, and they get hooked, they get addicted.

• Would you say the same about militarism?

◦ Yes exactly. So that war toys have to increase in the same way. Because it's an addiction. The real fear is of death. The real fear is of life. It's very telling that we have an economy in which the public roads are going to pot, the schools are crumbling away, we're demanding more and more proficiency and knowledge of people, but we're not bothering to educate our young people. And we're putting all this money into arms. We have serious domestic things to deal with and it all goes down the drain with war-toys.

For some reason - probably because it is a society of dominance - it makes sense that, in general, people who are more severely ill with dominance disease get power. That's not always true, but it's very true right now and American society is very ill with dominance disease right now!

But it's also true that there are a lot of people who are not in power who are thinking differently or who are just not so severely paralysed by this alienation - that's the case for most people - who see that the body is nature. And nature is not without meaning: this is what we're finally having to comprehend. And this paradigm that we've imposed over our own experience, that nature and culture, or matter and spirit, are separate, is not true. And that's what high energy physics has understood: that matter and energy are on a continuum, energy being the modern inheritor of the

ings include Woman & Nature, Pornography & Country. She is currently at work on a book about New Catalyst about the nature of the culture that

# g all of life



concept of spirit. And the body continually reasserts itself, it won't let us lie. That's how powerful this wisdom is that's in our very selves, in our atoms, our very being.

- *If that's true, then the question becomes: how do we create the conditions to enable that to emerge, as opposed to the culture of dominance?*
  - Well, God, I think that a lot of people are doing that. It's a time when we need to really listen to each other right now: the ecology movement and the peace movement must start listening to feminists. For a long time I felt that feminists needed to begin to make coalitions with other causes. I think that feminists are really moving in that direction now. Not as women joining male organisations, but working with. There still need to be all-female organisations. Because unfortunately women are still very oppressed economically, socially and politically. And that's true on the Left as well as in the mainstream. Just to look at one example, among my friends doing theoretical work on peace, there's much more financial support for what men are doing. And of course what happened to Helen Caldicott with Physicians for Social Responsibility? Men took over that organisation that she built and they were awarded the Nobel Prize! It's just astonishing that that could happen in this day and age when supposedly everyone's been educated in feminism...

- *Do you have a vision of a culture that might be at peace in a different way?*
  - I don't have a wholly-wrought utopian vision, no. But I have some experiences I've had that have been wonderful, that act as pointers for my life.  
One is that I'm very fortunate to be part of a group of people who all knew each other somewhat - not terribly close - but a sort of larger network of people. A friend of ours was killed quite suddenly almost three years ago now and, through the experience of her death and that grief, we got to know each other much more intimately. Because this friend - a peace activist - was very deeply committed to that work and because the people who knew her and loved her share that same value system, we're becoming a genuine community. And it's making me very aware of what a great need people have for that.

This rapacious picture of human nature that came about at the end of the 19th century with first Darwinism and then Social Darwinism is really inaccurate.

Not only does it make rapaciousness and competitiveness and selfishness a virtue, it ignores other very real needs that people have. I think people really have the need to be in each other's lives. The biosphere is interdependent; like a forest, and you can't study a tree without studying everything in that forest. And I think that's true of people too. Of course, it's understood we're social animals. But there's some way in which we've never really done much about that, never really understood the need to have it existing in the actual structure of one's life.

- *On a daily basis.*
- *Yes, on a daily basis.*

We were talking about the attraction of these fundamentalist, religious rights meetings or New Agey spiritual get-togethers, the other day. People get very high off them and they feel this sense of connection with each other. But it isn't real. It doesn't last. It's like cotton candy. It's an illusory replacement for something we need, just like drug addiction is. You can also look at the military in that way, in that we in this culture really do lack strength. This obsession that we have with strength makes sense. We lack strength because our roots are in the earth, and our roots are also in the community and in our connectedness with each other. And we've cut ourselves off from all that. And so we reach out to military weapons on the one hand, on the other to one-shot ecstatic experiences of communion with people. You're supposed to turn to your neighbour and say "I love you!" and you never see them after that! I mean, after all, real love is not this romantic flash in the pan. It's something that's built over years. It's only recently that we've lived in these tiny units and they're not enough for people.

- *Presumably there's a direct relationship between our atomisation and our consequent respect and need for an authority figure, and - on the other side of that - the building of community and the taking of authority for our lives that we build together. Is that what you're saying?*
  - Absolutely. Yes. And I do think that there's something fundamental about size. I really agree with Schumacher, and I agree with a lot of anarchist work. We can think abstractly, but we don't think well out of a context. Just like somebody who's drunk gets arrogant. They think they have these super-human abilities. You can get drunk on yourself out of context. Whereas, in context, we have much greater understandings. And that's one of many reasons why, when a governmental unit gets too big, people's decisions become irrational. For instance, Berkeley is small enough that we have a feel for people who are sitting up on the council. There's a real relationship there. You're not liable to make these people into either devils or super-humans, because there's some nitty-gritty going on...
- *How do you work towards small-scale community at the same time as having to oppose society with mass action?*
  - There are two dangers I see for those of us who are America's dissidents. One is to blanketly distrust any use of media - like we're going to keep ourselves pure or something. And we're going to go off and be unconnected at all to what's happening. But you can't. There's no place you can go where the water's clean; there's no place you can go where the air's clean. It's not possible. But the other is to somehow become - like what's happened to the Democratic Party for instance. The Democratic Party's like a co-alcoholic. The Republican Party's definitely the alcoholic! Instead of thinking what we are about, and to try to bring it about somehow, whether elected or not, the Democratic Party just puts itself into a pretzel shape in order to please. So you just lose your respect for them altogether - they'll do anything to get votes.

Let me use an analogy that I know very well. I teach writing, and I work with the creative process in a way

that's similar to therapy but not therapy, but works with the emotional aspects of the writing process. One of the basic tenets of the way I work is to help my students enjoy their work. If you're not forcing yourself, or doing it in a dutiful way, or you're bored, or you're not writing in the way you like but the way you think someone else wants, then it's going to be flat. It's not going to have the life-force in it.

• *That's an analogy with politics?*

◦ Right. I don't think the end justifies the means. Ever. Nature doesn't work that way. The means is always part of the end. What you're doing in the moment is all existence. There's no world except it exists at the moment. So if the means are horrible and you're doing that at the moment, that's what is. That's got us into a terrible ecological mess, this idea that the means justify the end. I think we need to keep that in mind as activists.

I got a letter from a wonderful woman called Fran Peavey who's an organiser and comedian. She was in India, and she was talking about this, and one of her colleagues - an Indian man - said to her, "You Americans always think in terms of the final effect of what you do - the goal. We in India don't think that way. If we believe in something, we'll do what we can, and we assume that it'll go into the field, and it'll affect things somehow. And the outcome may not be visible to us for quite a while. We may never quite know how we did it, but we have faith in this larger process." I think we have to begin to have faith in the life process. You see the illness that we're suffering from in this culture is the lack of faith in life itself. So right now, in the midst of our very protest, we have to begin to start practicing that.

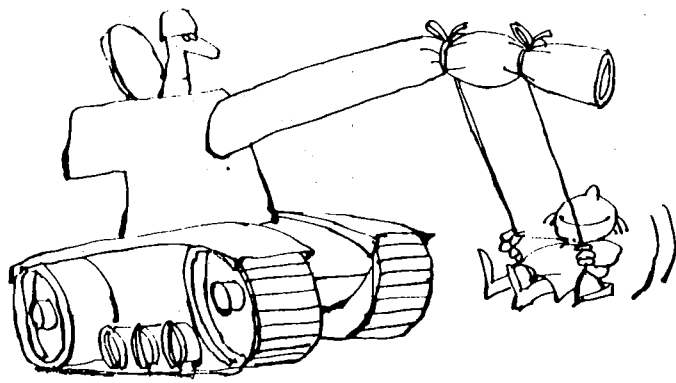
Dana Metzke, who's a feminist and a wonderful poet, said (I wish I could quote her directly, because she said it beautifully, but I'm not good at memorizing words) something like: "The world is on fire. We're all in danger. There is only time to move slowly. There is only time to love."

• *Is it true that in this forthcoming work you're directing attention toward the nuclear dilemma?*

◦ Yes. The whole book is an act of witnessing. I'm talking about the extraordinary qualities that come out in the people who have been able to survive Hiroshima and the Holocaust... The act of witnessing is a beautiful part of life: the fact that matter desires consciousness and desires to witness and resonate and communicate. I want people to take that in as much as the horror. Both. Because it's there. Every part of life wants to be celebrated. Even the dark sides, the parts that are very painful.

• *Which takes us back to the beginning, that it's the fear of fear itself that is perhaps at the root of our civilisation's problems. And that maybe respecting that fear, acknowledging it and living it, is a part of the solution?*

◦ Yes, I really feel that is so.



How do Marxists see the green movement? If we are both to convince them and hopefully get them to join us, perhaps we should look at what they are saying about us.

Accordingly, GL reproduces here a shortened version of MIKE SIMONS' article The Red and The Green - Socialists and the ecology movement which first appeared in International Socialism (2:37 Winter 1987), the quarterly journal of the Socialist Workers Party. This month, in the first part, he argues that the history of the environmental movement betrays its reactionary roots.

## Ourselves through others' eyes

"WE ARE THE ALTERNATIVE!" That is the bold assertion made by West Germany's Green Party. They can certainly claim success. Formed in 1980, they polled just 1.5% in the general election of that year. In the 1983 general election, they won more than 5% of the vote and became the first new party to enter the Bundestag in 30 years. The general election of January 1987 convinced many observers that the Greens weren't a 'flash in the pan' when their vote increased to over 8%.

But Die Grunen are not alone. They are one manifestation of the re-emergence of environmentalism in the 1980s. One reason for its revival is a seemingly endless string of disasters, but it is the crisis in social democracy and the collapse of the revolutionary left in Europe that has allowed it to pose as the radical force of the 1980s. British socialists, from the soft left of the Labour Party to revolutionary entryists who joined the Bennite bandwagon, are now arguing that green politics offers a way out of the political ghetto.

However, while the devastation wreaked on the environment is real enough, there is nothing new about the politics of the environmentalists. Their predictions that we are heading towards ecological catastrophe may sound radical, but their radicalism is only superficial.

This article looks at why there can be no synthesis of ecological ideas and socialism and why those who try quickly abandon class politics.

• What do the environmentalists believe?

Pinning down the ideas of the environmental movement is frustrating since the movement is diffuse and its ideas even more so. There is however one key concept which is common to all environmentalists: the earth cannot cope any more. Industrial society, pollution and overpopulation have created a crisis that is so great it threatens all life on earth. No class can escape and so solutions which transcend class are required.

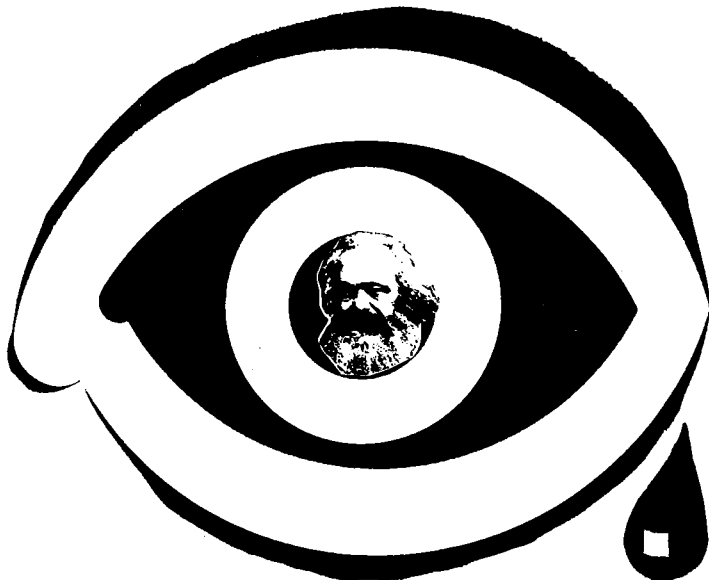
Today's environmentalists blame the ecological crisis on 'industrialism', not 'capitalism', so the key to averting ecological disaster lies in the ending of economic growth. This has long been a demand of right-wing environmentalists, as will be shown. It was a unifying theme in the early days of the Green Party and it has

been adopted by those seeking to create a 'red-green' synthesis. At the Chesterfield Conference of 1987 for example, Peter Tatchell introduced a session on the environment and argued strongly for an end to economic growth.

The ideas of a threat to the existence of all human life, of 'industrialism', of 'no-growth' and of making sacrifices for the Third World are supposed to be a new guide to action. It is argued that they show traditional Marxist concepts and arguments cannot cope with late 20th century industrial society. Our reply is simple. Marx himself dealt with many of these arguments and Marxism still provides the essential tools to understanding the phenomena which concern environmentalists (and us). Marxism also identifies the force, the working class, which can overcome the root cause of environmental disaster.

The key idea of the new environmental movement, that the earth cannot cope with the strains inflicted on it, is one of the oldest reactionary arguments around. The first to argue that there was a mismatch between what the earth's resources could supply and the demands of the population was Thomas Malthus in his Essay on the Principle of Population, published in 1798. It is Malthus to whom environmentalists refer again and again.

At the heart of Malthus' theory was the old reactionary trick of describing the status quo as



'natural'. But Malthus' great innovation - to dress up theories of the superiority of some humans over others in scientific language - was welcomed by many in the British ruling class. In their eyes, he had proved that the ruling class had no responsibility for the terrible privations of the industrial towns and cities that sucked in the landless agricultural labourers. Malthus campaigned against the Poor Laws and played a key role in getting 'outdoor relief' banned. Thanks to Malthus, the unemployed were left with the choice of the workhouse or starvation. He turned his fire on any progressive idea: calls for the introduction of a minimum wage were denounced with the cry 'rise the wages and ruin the nation'.

Marx and Engels raged against Malthus. Marx described Malthus' theories as "a sin against science" and "a libel on mankind". Nevertheless, his ideas were disinterred 150 years after his death, given a modern gloss, and used to great effect during the first wave of modern environmentalism in the late 1960s. This is important since all today's environmental groups - from Die Grunen to Friends of the Earth - have their origins in the Malthusian-dominated 1960s movement.

Malthus' ideas were rediscovered by right-wing American writers after WWII and used as an ideological weapon to justify the Cold War. In 1948, William Vogt published a best seller, The Road to Survival which,

despite the carnage that had just ended, claimed the world was overpopulated. His remedy for 'overpopulation' was brutal - death: "one of the greatest national assets of Chile, perhaps its greatest asset, is its high death rate". The UN, he said, "should not ship food to keep alive millions of Indians and Chinese this year so that 50 million may die five years hence." Vogt's arguments were not the ideological front-line of the Cold War. Nevertheless, according to writer Alan Chase, (author of The Legacy of Malthus), "every argument, every concept, every recommendation made in The Road to Survival would become integral to the conventional wisdom of the post-Hiroshima generation of educated Americans." Nothing could be better for the American ruling class than to put down the immiseration of the Third World, not to imperialism, but to their being too many of the victims of imperialism. There were policy implications too; US President Lyndon Johnson put it succinctly: "\$5 put into birth control is more useful in Latin America than \$100 invested in economic growth."

During the 1960s these ideas spread into popular consciousness. Terms rarely heard today like the 'population explosion' or the 'biological time-bomb' were in general use. They were kept there by a series of publications which purported to offer a scientific justification for crude racist and imperialist actions. One of the most famous was The Population Bomb by Dr Paul Ehrlich, a self-confessed disciple of Vogt. It was published in May 1968 when the eyes of the left were elsewhere. It too was an instant best seller. Ehrlich's work was an invitation to genocide. He urged the government not to send food aid to countries where "dispassionate analysis indicates the food-population unbalance is hopeless". The occupants of the Delhi slums were to be left to starve, but food could be sent to "the Pakistani government under the tough-minded leadership of President Ayub Khan" - in other words, to a tyrant sympathetic to the USA. The Population Bomb made Ehrlich into a media superstar. He appeared regularly on TV chat shows and his thoughts were featured in the newspapers. Twenty years on, his star like many of the other right-wing environmentalists has waned slightly, but he still has influence. In March 1987 for example, ITV screened The Earth, a three-part TV series made by Ehrlich.

The fashion for environmental catastrophe theories was taken a step further with the publication in 1971 of The Limits to Growth (LtG) by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. LtG was a report sponsored by the Club of Rome, a group of technocrats founded by Italian business consultant Aurelio Peccei and supported by the Chairman of Fiat. Like Paul Ehrlich and the 'population bombers', LtG had a profoundly ideological aim and was hailed by the media as a bible for the developing environmental movement. The Club commissioned MIT to draw up a computer model of the world and to predict future events. The model was complicated but it came up with simple answers. Unless something was done fast, the world would, within a few decades, be overcome by overpopulation, pollution and raw material shortages. But like Malthus 150 years earlier, LtG was influential but wrong. The book sold in millions and helped inspire a wave of populist doomsday literature. In Britain for example, it was cited as the main reference for The Ecologist magazine's Blueprint for Survival. The 'blueprint' called for the demolition of industrial society and a reduction in the population of Britain to 30 million.

As science, LtG was fundamentally flawed. All the 'limits' it examined were physical. No attention was paid to the social and political factors that threatened famine in the Third World and pollution and stagnation in the First. The Science Policy Research Unit at Sussex University produced a devastating critique of LtG which they originally planned to title "Malthus with a Computer", but then pointedly called Thinking about the Future. The Sussex team noted that like Malthus, LtG



ignored the prospect of any technical advances. When allowances for quite modest technical developments in agricultural production and pollution control were fed into the computer model, catastrophe was postponed indefinitely. They understood the political context in which LtG had been produced: "We put much greater emphasis on the political and social limits to growth than on the purely physical ...today's Malthusians can be viewed as in the interests of the materially well-off in the rich countries. They may also have the effect of giving the rich countries a clear conscience about their selfish behaviour towards the poor."

Whilst it is obvious that LtG had little effect on ruling-class thinking, they found it did have a useful effect on popular consciousness. At a time when the steady economic growth experienced since the war looked set to dry up, the ruling class didn't mind at all if environmentalists started spreading anti-growth propaganda. Nor do they mind today when the greens and environmentalists repeat the arguments.

#### • The Modern Utopians

If Malthusianism is one root of the environmentalists' rejection of class, utopianism is the other. Throughout the 1970s, gathering pace in the 1980s, we have been subjected to a series of publications claiming that the working class is dead, that we live in a 'post-industrial' society and that new social movements are the only real forces for change. Andre Gorz's Farewell to the Working Class, an essay on post-industrial society is the best-known. In it, Gorz didn't simply wave goodbye to the working class, he tried to knee it in the groin. Gorz's fellow countryman and co-thinker, Alain Touraine, was particularly blunt about the challenge posed by the new environmental movement:

"Political ecology, then, is in the first place a critique of the ideology of the labour movement. It directly challenges that movement's definition of the kind of society which conflict is intended to bring about. It does not believe that the aim is to help



#### RESIST! TRIDENT AT FASLANE

ON JULY 23rd the peace camp at Faslane invites everyone opposed to Trident to come and make their personal protest at the base being built on the Clyde.

The peace camp has been at Faslane for six years and is a symbol of resistance to the biggest escalation of the arms race ever undertaken by Britain. For the last two years a massive construction programme has been under way on the Clyde, decimating almost 4,000 acres of previously unspoilt land.

The peace camp is organising a 'People's Witness for Peace' on the weekend of JULY 23/24. The idea is for people to come and make their own protest in whatever non-violent way they feel is suitable, to call attention to the crimes being committed in our names behind the fence at Faslane.

On the Saturday people are asked to bring symbols of all that they care for, and fix them to the fence. We want to cover the 2 mile perimeter fence and the verges below it with a ragged ribbon of life.

On SUNDAY 24th JULY there will be a Christian CND act of worship, and there are plans for a musical festival at the other end of the base. The peace camp is organising legal support and NVDA workshops throughout the weekend. For more information, leaflets and posters, contact Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire (0436) 820901.

#### PEACE DIARY

**JULY 3-10:** Aldermaston Vehicle Watch. The Aldermaston Women's Campaign, which holds a regular peace camp at Falcon Gate every month, is planning to have a daylight watch during these dates. The watch at Aldermaston itself will be women only: the watchers at other gates will decide for themselves whether to be women only or mixed. Contact CND for details.

**JULY 5:** Meeting led by James Hinton, with National CND, Bristol CND, West Region CND, with respect to the Spring/Autumn campaign. 8.30 pm. Friends Meeting House, River Street, Bristol. Contact Pat Wilson 0272 540672.

**JULY 9-16:** YOUTH PEACE WEEK. Wear the T-shirt, buy the badge, etc. Theme: 'no more new deployments.' Contact YCND at Underwood Street.

**JULY 11:** CND Annual Conference resolutions deadline. The conference itself is at Salford University, November 18-20.

**JULY 11-AUGUST 31:** Bruce Kent keeps himself in trim by walking from Warsaw to Brussels! Bruce's 'One World' sponsored walk is a linkmaking, networking (sic) event as well as a mammoth fundraising exercise. 'One World' sweatshirts cost £9.95, T-shirts £5.95.

**JULY 12-14:** Hinkley Point C: 2nd pre-enquiry meeting. Organised by the government. Details to be announced.

**JULY 16:** Protest Walk from Coventry to Hinkley C: arriving on Friday July 29th for a demonstration. Details from P.Norton, 17 Agatha's Rd, Stoke, Coventry. Tel. Coventry 466691 (daytime), 448274 (evenings).

**JULY 16:** Cruise Resistance Meeting 11-6pm, East Oxford Community Centre. Contact Tony Jillings on 0865 724956.

**JULY 23:** Faslane demonstration against Trident (details elsewhere).

**JULY 30:** Trade Union Conference on Star Wars, NUT Building, Mabledon Place, Euston Rd, London WC1.

**AUGUST 6:** Hiroshima Day, an opportunity to take part in the International Shadow Project, one of the most brilliant and effective of campaigning ideas.

#### AUTUMN EVENTS

CND'S AUTUMN campaign will focus on Trident and NATO's modernization (i.e. nuclear escalation) programme. Three national events are planned on the theme of: 'No new deployments - no cheating on the INF treaty', at Portsmouth and at Upper Heyford, with respect to air-launched cruise missiles, and Faslane with respect to Trident. NVDA will be a major feature of the protest at the three bases. The date for this action is OCTOBER 15th. The West German peace movement has already chosen the same date for its major national autumn event, a large scale action at Linnich, West Germany, the new war command centre for NATO. An October 15th Working Group has already been formed. Contact CND on 01.250 4010.

#### POSTSCRIPT: ALDERMASTON

IN LAST month's Green Line, Autonomous Peace Action described its various activities at Aldermaston, including the destruction of large sections of the fence. The action not only affected the base directly (i.e. was not merely 'symbolic'), thus breaking out of this debilitating habit of passively 'witnessing' the approaching end of our world, but also promoted self-change, by the process of working and acting together in a co-ordinated way. Also, it appears to have received a good deal of support from CND protestors. Nonetheless Bruce Kent condemned the action, as did CND press officer Alison Davies, who said: 'With a large crowd of people it's difficult to control who turns up. It could have been people who wanted to give CND a bad name.' However, a 'good name' in the eyes of the state, the media and the police can only be maintained by selling out, over and over again. So what is NVDA, and what isn't? When is it nice, and when is it nasty? The criterion, presumably, is CND 'control'. But must we devise 'illegal' actions in such a way as to be as accommodating and unthreatening as possible to our lawgivers?

WHAT WE CAN'T  
DO ALONE  
WE CAN DO  
TOGETHER



industrial or capitalist society to give birth to a more advanced socialist society. It is fighting industrialised society, whether capitalist or socialist, in the name of the demand to live differently now... ecologists are an anti-labour movement."

It was a warning the left in Germany would have done well to heed.

#### • The Development of a movement

In 1962, Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* and showed for the first time that pesticides like DDT were damaging the reproductive systems of wildlife, entering the food chain and so were posing a threat to humans. Her findings caused an instant controversy and sparked the beginnings of a new environmentalist movement. In America, membership of traditional conservation and wildlife groups flourished during the 1960s. But a new generation of environmentalists also emerged - activists who wanted to apply some of the tactics of the student movement. The first 'ecology action group' was formed at Berkeley in 1968 and the next year Friends of the Earth was founded in San Francisco. Environmentalism fitted easily into the world of radicalised students. Young middle-class students rebelling against a materialist rat race could see pollution as a symptom of a flawed society.

In May 1970, Earth Day was celebrated on approximately 15,000 college campuses across the USA. It was the biggest environmental demonstration ever - a massive protest against the priorities of corporate America. But it was also a softer option than protesting against the Vietnam war, so President Richard Nixon found no difficulty in joining the Earth Day celebrations. Alan Chase perhaps overstates his case when he claims: "In a holy fervour of opportunism and righteousness, let alone profound relief to find the angry campus generation mesmerising itself into abandoning the cause of peace in Indochina, President Nixon and various of his high officials joined in the orgies of well-televised oratory ...that marked the Earth Day, 1970: the day young people switched goals from the quest for peace to the crusade for Zero Population Growth and Clean Cars."

The environmental movement didn't last long after Nixon's hypocritical embrace. It was hit by the decline in the student movement and the onset of economic crisis. The return of inflation and unemployment diminished the audience for those who blamed economic growth for all our evils. In addition, the system showed it could absorb some environmental demands. Five years after Earth Day, environmental issues had slipped from the headlines and the movement had shrunk dramatically.

The environmental movement in Britain was always a pale imitation of its US counterpart, thanks to the rising tide of class struggle in the 1960s and early 1970s and the relatively poor success of revolutionaries and student activists in relating to it. The publication of *The Ecologist* magazine in 1970 marked the first attempt to galvanise the movement. The magazine was characteristically reactionary. It dubbed itself "the journal of the post-industrial age" and the front cover of the first issue declared an interest in "man and environment; the quality of life, pollution and conservation". Inside, Michael Allaby wrote on the need for population control in Britain. "The trouble with Thomas Malthus", declares Allaby, "is that he was right." The magazine was aimed at those outraged by the prospect of shortage, privation and even apocalypse, but who were, nevertheless, comfortably off within industrial society. Why else did it combine predictions of mass starvation with advertisements for Slimcea, the bread that "can help in the treatment of obesity"? Why else would *The Ecologist* proclaim itself "the journal of the post-industrial age" yet be subsidised in part by media magnate Sir James Goldsmith and carry an advertisement for a unit trust on the back cover?

If *The Ecologist* catered for the reactionary end of the environmental movement, Friends of the Earth Ltd aimed at a more radical segment of the same small movement. The group was imported to Britain by the US FoE and established in 1970 with the help of a British industrialist. It had offices and a full-time staff before it had any supporters. FoE burst into the headlines with a brilliant stunt. It dumped thousands of the newly produced non-return bottles of the steps of Schweppes head office. From then on, local groups sprang up around the country and a few gave up the revolution for the deposit bottle, but not many.

FoE's strength and its survival (*The Ecologist* folded in 1977 but has since reappeared) came not from its local supporters but from its head office which set out to be a professional lobbying organisation with limited targets. They combined well-presented technical arguments with a flair for publicity stunts. FoE was set up and remains as a limited company, not a charity. Nor is it an organisation directly controlled by its members. To socialists at least, its choice of targets seems bizarre. FoE threw as many resources into 'saving the whale' and recycling tin cans as it did into opposing nuclear power. Yet it can take all the credit for stimulating opposition to nuclear power in Britain. Its pioneering work in the run-up to the 1977 inquiry into the expansion of the Sellafield reprocessing plant certainly convinced socialists that the Communist Party line of 'atoms for peace', rolled out during the first wave of CND, no longer applied.

But FoE's limits were exposed by the Windscale inquiry, for despite the *New Scientist's* comment that "on overall balance of form, content, style and timing ...FoE emerges as the cardinal adversary in these hearings," the final report made no mention of any evidence presented by the objectors. Unfortunately, FoE didn't draw the obvious lesson: that public inquiries are an expensive sham and that a movement had to be built. Instead, the organisation pursued its role as lobbyists with renewed fervour, turning its back on action.

By the time FoE was ten years old, environmentalists were complaining that it had been absorbed into the blotting paper of Whitehall. Walter Patterson put it slightly differently: "In the early weeks of the new Conservative government, FoE people met with several ministers, including those in the Department of Energy, and prepared an invited briefing on the role of private generation of electricity." FoE withdrew its support from the Anti-Nuclear Campaign at precisely this time, though its flirtation with the Tories didn't survive the announcement of the PWR nuclear power station programme in December 1979.

The conservatism of FoE led to a massive crisis in the organisation and a staff strike in 1982. It also fuelled the development of Greenpeace, who adopted the early FoE tactic of organising media-oriented events but in a far more spectacular style. Millions cheer every time they confront the nuclear industry, or their latest adversary, with their 'non-violent terrorist tactics'. Greenpeace first came to prominence with its revelations of radioactive pollution on the beaches at Windscale, then hit the headlines around the world in 1985 when French secret agents blew up its ship, the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland harbour.

Like FoE, Greenpeace is not democratic. It has supporters not members. According to the *Independent*, "the organisation itself is unashamedly centralised and authoritarian: how else to be so secret and quick to respond?" However, neither Greenpeace nor FoE responded to the Chernobyl accident. The leaders of both organisations decided not to call a demonstration. Britain was one of the few European countries without a national protest: both organisations undoubtedly failed their most important test to date.

MIKE SIMONS' article will be concluded in the next issue of GL when he turns his attention to Die Grunen.

## AMERICA: GOOD, BAD AND UGLY

Dig this tale of peace-loving Americans...  
From The Pacifist (May 1988)

### PROUD TO BE A BOMBER

After weeks of campaigning, students at Richland High School in Washington State voted overwhelmingly against changing the school's emblem, the letter "R" surmounted by a huge mushroom cloud.

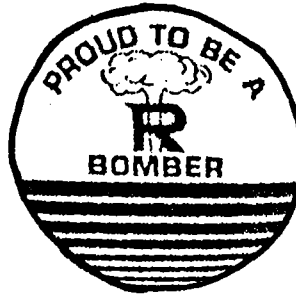
The cloud appears on a large sign at the school entrance; is printed on the business cards of all teachers, and is artistically outlined in a special tile set in the floor of the main hall.

Marcia Cillan, vice president of the student body, even dished out uranium pellets as examples of local products when she was an entrant in a beauty contest.

For Richland is a creation of the nuclear age. Nearly all of its 11,000 people earn their livelihood at the top-secret Hanford Nuclear Reservation, which produces plutonium for America's nuclear weapons.

The atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki contained plutonium from Richland, and thousands of weapons that have gone into the Pentagon's arsenal since then have come from the same source.

The mushroom cloud was first adopted by the high school in the 1960's as a symbol of the town's inextricable involvement with atomic



warfare.

So, when someone suggested a few weeks ago that, given the new moves towards disarmament and detente, the school might adopt a more peaceable emblem, then there was an uproar.

Those opposed to the mushroom cloud were accused of being unpatriotic; those who wanted to retain it were called warmongers.

Staff, like the baseball coach who had to explain the emblem to a party of visiting from Japan, were caught in the middle.

But, America being the democratic place it is, the student's held a vote and more than 90% were in favour of keeping the cloud.

After the vote, a triumphant Miss Cillan declared: "I don't think the student body sees it as a symbol of destruction or weaponry. It doesn't signify anything other than Richland High School."

Frank Taylor in Los Angeles.  
Daily Telegraph 25.2.88

Happily there does seem to be a fair bit of active resistance to the war machine in the Big Rotten Apple - snippets thanks to Frits ter Kuile.

April 3: four activists boarded the battleship USS Iowa and poured their blood over the cruise missile launch tubes and hammered on them to beat the nuclear swords into ploughshares. They are now on remand in Norfolk Virginia for this, the 25th ploughshares disarmament action.

April 18: 48 people arrested for blockading and trespass at Lockheed in Santa Cruz, California where Trident D5 re-entry vehicles are made.

April 23: 39 people arrested during civil disobedience action outside EB shipyard in Connecticut as the 10th Trident sub, USS Pennsylvania, was launched. Demonstrators held crosses carrying names of those who'd frozen to death that winter to make the link between \$2 billion subs and homelessness in USA.

The struggle took an even nastier turn last year at Concord Naval Weapons Station near San Francisco. It supplied most of the ammo for Vietnam and now has bunkers full of

nukes for the US Navy. There's been a peace camp for nearly a year which concentrates on blockading trains shipping ammo for the war in Central America. Resistance is based on the Nuremburg Principles, signed by the US, under which citizens have the right and duty to prevent their government from committing war crimes or preparing to commit them.

Inevitably there've been arrests: some blockaders spend 2/3 of the time on the tracks and the rest in jail. But last year, a train ran over peacenik and Vietnam Vet, Brian Willson, smashing his legs. This was almost certainly deliberate and would require ordering from a high level. As is usual, there were spotters on the front of the locomotive in radio contact with the driver who must have seen Willson. The Navy have already been forced to admit the train was exceeding the speed limit.

One of the many imprisoned for peace is Jim Albertini, sentenced to 3 years for swimming across the bows of a nuclear-capable warship as it entered the supposedly nuke-free harbour of Hilo, Hawaii - messages of support to Jim Albertini c/o Malu A'ina, PO Box AB, Kurtistown, Hawaii 96760 USA.



• BARRY MAYCOCK

### FED & CAW: TWO FEDERATIONS

THE MOST recent meeting of the Federation of Local Animal Rights Groups took place at Huddersfield on 15th May, and was again a success in terms of exchanging information and pooling resources - and this, in any case, is one of the major reasons why the Federation was set up in the first place. However, too much time was again taken up in a discussion about the national societies and what to do about them; even at a meeting like this the nationals are like a black hole into which time, energy and resources are constantly disappearing! It was felt that an attitude of antagonism towards them could give way to a certain co-operation; nevertheless there does exist a good deal of discontent with the nationals, and at the moment it is only the Federation that can provide any kind of focus for that discontent and necessary criticism. Otherwise the nationals simply sail on, getting stronger and winning their case by default.

There was also some discussion of Co-ordinating Animal Welfare (CAW), a group which seems to be based on the same ideas as the Federation, though with one important difference: CAW does seem to have been blessed to some extent by the nationals, particularly Animal Aid. My suspicious mind had wondered why CAW has re-emerged at the very moment that the Federation has come into being. Is it being cultivated by the nationals as a sort of 'alternative' Federation, a nicer, more co-operative version? Interestingly enough, in the latest CAW Bulletin there wasn't a single mention of the Federation, a curious omission in an otherwise informative and comprehensive publication. This is strange because the Federation's strength (whatever its national standing) derives from its local grassroots activism, particularly in the north. For this reason alone it will surely thrive, and extend its influence.

The next meeting will be held at Sheffield on Sunday August 14th, 1-6 pm. The Federation has called for a Meat Day of Action on August 27th.

Contact the Federation at PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 6AV.



THE SEA Shepherd Society is a non-violent direct action group. In policing illegal whaling activities, the crew operates under five strict regulatory guidelines. These guidelines are:

- 1) Sea Shepherd crewmembers cannot use weapons.
- 2) Sea Shepherd crewmembers cannot use explosives.
- 3) Sea Shepherd crewmembers cannot undertake any actions which could result in a possible physical injury to human life.
- 4) The Sea Shepherd Society must take responsibility for its actions.
- 5) The Sea Shepherd Society must accept moral and legal consequences for all actions taken.

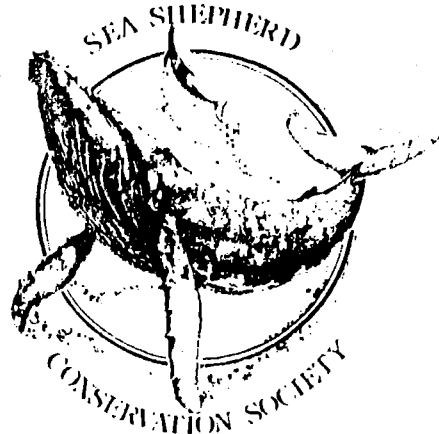
The objectives of all Sea Shepherd campaigns is to save lives and to apply pressure to end whaling, sealing and destructive wildlife exploitation.

On November 8th 1986 Rod Coronado and David Howitt enforced international regulations by sinking half of Iceland's illegal whaling fleet and by destroying the illicit whale processing factory near Reykjavik. It was a devastating blow to the pirate whalers, both economically and morally. Both crewmembers followed the guidelines to the letter. Iceland retaliated against this action by labelling Sea Shepherd a "terrorist" organization and the Icelandic government announced that criminal charges would be laid against the Society and the crew.

It was all talk. Iceland was and continues to be aware that they have been in violation of the international moratorium prohibiting the commercial take of whales. In response to Iceland's charges, Captain Paul Watson wrote to the government to request formal charges so that he could address

## LEGAL DAMAGE

the accusers. Iceland refused to respond to his letters. Captain Watson, being true to the guidelines on accepting moral and legal consequences for his actions, decided that if Iceland would not summon them then they would simply go to Iceland to demand that their accusers make good on their threats.



On January 21st, Captain Watson along with Canadian Field Representative Joanna Forwell and Swedish Director Sten Borg flew to Iceland. Upon arrival, Captain Watson was arrested without charge. At the same time, four Icelandic journalists were arrested for attempting to interview him. Paul was held for 22 hours while Joanna and Sten met with Icelandic media and with Magnus Skarphedinnsson of the Icelandic based Whale Friends Society, a group that represents Sea Shepherd in Iceland.

On January 22nd, Captain Watson was released without charge and

expelled from Scandinavia for five years (without reason) by order of the Icelandic government. Expulsion without reason is without precedent. Iceland was embarrassed, Paul was demanding to be charged for the sinking of the whaling ships and the authorities refused knowing that a trial would focus more international attention on illegal Icelandic whaling activities. The Icelandic newspaper Morganbladið echoed the feelings of thousands of Icelanders in an editorial that expressed fear that democracy was being threatened by a government expulsion order without reason after refusal to lay charges.

Captain Watson's confrontation in Iceland resulted in a backlash of Icelandic public and media sympathy for the Sea Shepherd Society's objective of ending Icelandic whaling operations. Most importantly, by refusing to lay charges, Iceland has vindicated the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society on all accusations of criminality. The sabotage of the Icelandic ships was justified ethically and legally. If charges have not been laid against the Society then this means that the Society is not guilty of any criminal behaviour. At the same time, refusal by Iceland to lay charges indicates that Iceland is embarrassed to do so because of the criminal nature of Icelandic whaling operations.

Icelandic, Norwegian and Japanese whaling ships continue to be legitimate targets for Sea Shepherd policing activities. The Society has proved itself to be an effective enforcement body for international regulations. It will continue to uphold the regulations and continue to save lives.

(From the Sea Shepherd Log, March 1988, UK address: Box 114, Plymouth PL1 1DR).

## SHOCK WAVES!

ON WEDNESDAY 8th June BUAV launched its new national campaign for 'HEALTH WITH HUMANITY', challenging animal experimentation in medical research. This is at least a campaign that takes us to the heart of the vivisection issue. The BUAV press release states: "For the first time [sic] Britain's largest anti-vivisection society uncovers, not only the cruelty inflicted on animals, but also the failure of animal testing to improve human health." This failure was uncovered, and the issue argued, over a decade ago by Hans Ruesch in his 'Slaughter Of The Innocent' - a book which, ironically enough, was attacked at the time by BUAV itself, and with some ferocity; Ruesch had always been critical of the ineptitude and lethargy of the established anti-vivisection societies.

"The campaign," says the BUAV, "will send shock waves through the medical research establishment." This is surely claiming too much for this particular campaign, though the shock waves that Ruesch sent out over ten years ago have indeed not lost their force. This campaign should be welcomed, as should a new book on the subject, 'The Cruel Deception' by Dr Robert Sharpe (Thorsons, £7.99) which attacks the use of animals in medical research. For more information contact Steve McIvor (BUAV Campaigns Organiser) 01.607 9533/4.

## NOT HIBERNATING

Hunt sabbers are often portrayed in the media as scruffy, urbanite anarchists etc. etc. that don't really care about the countryside. So do they just go back to the cities from whence they're supposed to have come when the hunting season finishes? HOWL magazine describes

the work of Clydeside HSA that gives the lie to the media myth.

In early spring, sabs were helping toads cross busy main roads to reach their breeding ponds, receiving favourable responses and even help from passing motorists. By early summer they were protecting peregrine nests in West Scotland from gamekeepers (the real lovers of the countryside, remember?) and egg and chick collectors. This required almost constant vigil over an eight week period and even then one nest was still raided. The group also took part in a sponsored kingfisher survey and in cleaning up a grotty section of the White Cart River near Paisley, getting £10 per half mile cleaned from the District Council.

As Sarah of Clydeside HSA puts it: "sabs in Clydeside have proven themselves to be genuinely concerned for all wildlife, and not just the 'class-war' agitators or 'loony lefties' that the hunt would have the public believe we are."

# diRTy bizness

THE ONCE-A-YEAR opportunity for shareholders to influence Rio Tinto Zinc is the annual general meeting. Like all big business, the company's concerns are bigger markets and bigger profits and thus it was with glee (and those little dollar signs in his eyes) that the Chairman opened the a.g.m. with the good news about CRA (RTZ's 48% Australian subsidiary) who last year announced the discovery of the world's richest uranium deposit. From here, the 'profit' speech continued. After all, this is what shareholders are interested in, isn't it...?

Fortunately, there are a core of shareholders (notably in the 1 share bracket rather than 10,000) who have slightly wider interests than big business and were at the meeting to bring to light aspects of the company that would still remain a mystery even if you had virtuously read every page of RTZ's glossy brochures.

RTZ are one of the biggest mining companies and are involved with the exploitative process from beginning to end. Despite their tactics in the meeting of trying to direct questions to the most 'respectable-looking' shareholders, a number of issues were raised by those on the side of life over profits. These include:

- Plans to mine for uranium in the Rudell River National Park in the Western Desert Lands of Australia which means the aboriginal peoples would lose their land. The mining would take place in a dreaming place, one of the peoples' most sacred areas.
- A tin smelter in Humberstone whose radioactive discharge has been linked to a cluster of cancers in the area.
- RTZ being the the second biggest CFC producers in Britain.

PARTIZANS (People Against Rio Tinto Zinc And its Subsidiaries) had organised a pre-AGM meeting, where questions to be raised were prioritised. The group had also raised the the money to bring two aboriginal representatives from the Western Desert Land.

- A shareholding democracy?

At the AGM the Chairman insisted there was good communication with the aboriginal peoples, but he held from allowing a representative to speak for as long as he possibly could. Finally, the aboriginal perspective was given and surprisingly the mike wasn't turned off, as had happened to aboriginal activist Joan Wingfield at BP's (Britain at its Best) AGM. As Teddy Biljabi was speaking, I felt the huge amount of pain and anguish suffered by indigenous people everywhere due to our expansion and economic growth. Sitting behind me were three men who held a discussion on the quality of their ties throughout Teddy's entire speech and I felt an enormous amount of hatred and anger towards them and their like sitting at the directors' table.

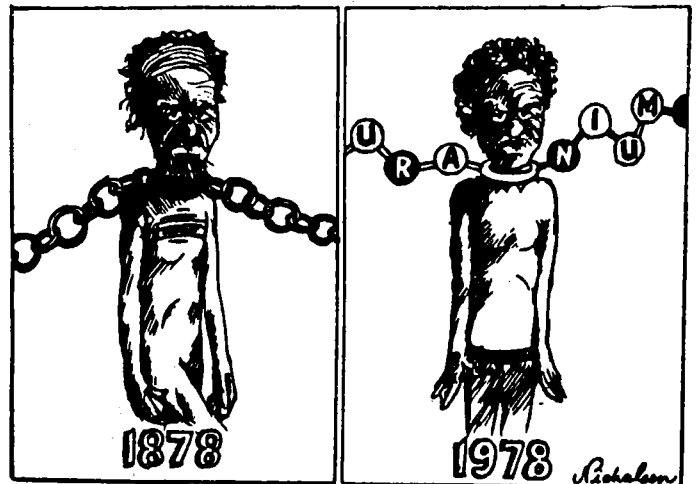
The reception had been even more callous at the BP meeting. According to people who had been there, the Chairman of the company asked Joan Wingfield, representing the Kokotha people; "How did you get here? Did you swim or did you come here by canoe?" Joan was protesting at BP mining at Roxby Downs, another sacred aboriginal dreaming place. If it hadn't been for the CEB's contract for uranium then the mining wouldn't have taken place which just shows how responsible we are here for the activities of mining companies abroad: 17% of our electricity comes from uranium. When questioned about the digging up of sacred places, the Chairman of BP replied that there were sacred sites all over the world and that some would have to be mined for progress: "Who knows, maybe we'll have to mine Pooh Corner?" But BP's Chairman is not the only knuckle brain: back at RTZ you

## RACHEL GRIMWOOD went along to the RTZ AGM. Here's her story

find the kind of intelligence that disclaims the dangers of CFCs - I suppose the profit margins must counterbalance the evidence against them.

The voting system at the AGM was a complete farce. You just wave your shareholders card in a show of hands which disregards the rather important fact that one vote equals one share so a card could thus be worth from 1 to 1000s of votes! The only 'written' vote was for elected positions in the company - hardly fundamental.

If it wasn't for the dedication of groups such as Partizans, the company would be given even greater licence. In 1885 it was disclosed that CRA were using a method of mining where cyanide is pumped into the ground to yield gold at the other end. This would have affected the water tables of three Australian states! RTZ denied everything, but there was an aboriginal woman present who had been in one of the workhuts in the area and seen the chemical used to treat cyanide poisoning. The mining did not take place. Partizans arrange proxy votes (which are free) and the buying of shares as well as having a wealth of information on RTZ. Write to them at 218 Liverpool Rd, London N1 and find out more.



It is essential to be well-researched if you want to ask 'questions' and probe at an AGM. but then, even if it isn't enjoyable, it's still vital work. I have never felt more angry, bitter and overpowered than at the close of the RTZ AGM. I know what these companies are doing but seeing humans (I presume) besotted and smug selling our planet and the rights and dignity of people for short-term gain; actually seeing them in their ugly beliefs is something different. But we cannot be defeated, for either they go or life on earth does.

I am realising more and more that it's not enough to avoid buying products from these multinationals. Silent boycotts won't do; we have to make public their filthy behaviour. AGMs are one way of doing this and an important way as they are the closest, most public contact you can have with the company. If indigenous people or environmental groups meet with them in private the companies just use the meeting for their own publicity, claiming to listen and have sympathy. We must make multinationals accountable and we must listen to the wisdom of the aboriginal peoples. Their struggle to maintain their cultures and lands and our own struggles against the likes of RTZ are one and the same. We must win.

To withhold a proportion of your electric bill to protest at nuclear power contact Consumers Against Nuclear Energy (CANE) at PO Box 697, London NW1 8YQ



## IS THE GREEN PARTY PRESUMPTIONIST?

Brig Oubridge reminds us in his letter (GL63) on the controversial non-vegetarian stall at Southport that "our", i.e Green Party "policy is to advocate and to promote a reduction in the consumption of meat". In doing so, he unwittingly puts his finger on the yawning contradiction between the green principle of non-centralisation and 90% of Green Party policy statements which ignore it or repudiate it.

We really can't have it both ways. I quite see there is a need for a central government policy on defence, foreign affairs, currency management, weights and measures, the calendar and one or two other essentially national concerns. But

for a national government to presume to tell me what I ought or ought not to have on my dinner plate, or to rule on the size of the classrooms in my local school, or who shall be our local policeman, or how we run our local clinic or cottage hospital, or how we manage our local bank or post office, or anything else touching essentially local concerns, is to lose sight of the basic function of government - which is to help us to enjoy ourselves, in part by undertaking those functions we are unable to effect ourselves.

The fact that local power of decision-making has been increasingly usurped by national governments is one reason why we have an ecological crisis at all. (What empowered local council would permit a nuclear power station to be built?)

**MORE  
FALLOUT  
FROM  
SOUTHPORT**

we are seeing is another fudge. Brig should read the reasons why Rudolf Bahro resigned from Die Grunen. And by analogy nuclear power will continue till it stops so we must make sure it's 'safe' while it still continues, as BNFL does. And whilst abusers of the environment continue, why not let the offenders continue as safely as possible - they love to spend money on preventing pollution, don't they?

I thought the conference was a place away from the head-on conflicts that being green engenders, a place of sharing this vision and raising energy, not dissipating it. Indeed I'm disillusioned that the Green Party is going exactly the same way as all the limp appeasing tired old parties who compromise while the madness continues. Whilst the Green Party was a visionary, idealistic and genuinely wholistic party, it had integrity - not any more for me anyway.

Dave Grimbleby  
Flat 3, 41 Oxford Rd  
Southport, Merseyside

The spectacle of green people not only proposing to continue this policy of usurption, but to greatly enlarge it, is a rather grim indication of the degree of intellectual confusion prevailing among us.

By all means let Brig Oubridge seek to persuade his neighbours of the virtues of a meat or vegetarian diet as the fancy takes him. But to presume to speak nationally on such questions is to be guilty of presumption. Since it is the current fashion to put a common suffix on the name of anything we don't like in order to transform it into a swearword, I can only say "Down with Presumptionism!"

John Papworth  
24 Abercorn Place  
London

## IS THE GREEN PARTY ENTRYIST?

My original letter (GL62) was written solely with regard to the principle of selection decision at the Southport Conference, not the actual stall involved. However, since it has been raised by Brig (GL63), perhaps I could be allowed to clarify a couple of points.

Firstly, the protest was never related to being vegetarian (that was just a green herring) or to the question of humane slaughter. The objection was to literature which supported field sports (referring to your friendly hunt, gassing of badgers etc.), dissection of animals in schools and factory slaughter of battery-farmed animals (machines are more efficient than people). All of these are contrary to the Green Party Manifesto. Secondly, most of the aggro was not directed at the stall-holders, although they may well have been intimidated by the atmosphere. The aggro was mostly from male Green Party anti-protestors against female Green Party protesters including actual physical assault. Returning to Brig's letter, it seems a strange notion that outside agencies should help develop our policies in the hall.

Bill Littlewood  
Poplar House, School Lane  
North Kelsey, Lincs

## IS THE GREEN PARTY APPEASEMENTIST?

Whilst trying to be balanced, and present the voice of reason to the issue of the 'humane slaughter' stall at the Southport conference, Brig (GL63) has opened up evidence of a gulf in thinking between what I consider the visionary core of green philosophy and the compromisers and appeasers. I speak here as one involved in the "Intimidatory and ungreen action" to get the stall removed and I wonder where the intimidation was coming from to produce this reaction. Maybe it was the whole negative aura emanating from the stall with its supporters of vivisection and slaughter. If these ladies are meant to be painted as shrinking violets or whatever then please tell it to the animals whose abuse and deaths they collude in.

But if, as Brig points out, the Green Party being neither a veggie or vegan party, a reduction in the consumption of meat will entail slaughter of "some kind" (the deadliest kind I imagine!), then what

## HISTORY LESSONS

Gavin Smith's attack (GL61) on the 'official' history of early England is out of date. I was taught the subject at a council school in the 1950s. We were told that the Saxons may have driven out all the Celts or maybe only some of them; that while some place names are Saxon, others are definitely pre-Saxon; and that although the Saxons brought new land into cultivation (such as Middlesex) there were many

pre-Saxon, lowland agricultural sites. Perhaps the rigid version Gavin attacks was current pre-war, but we are living in 1988.

Rather than tilt at windmills that have long since stopped turning, Gavin could perhaps expose the rigid official histories taught in, say, Japan with its racist, oh-so-nice version of WW2, or in Israel with its 'Chosen People' theory.

Or better still, he could attack the Normans who still tend to get favourable mentions in history books due to the fact that royalty and

much of the aristocracy is descended from them. The Normans carved up England just as Mafia godfathers carved up Chicago. And when the Normans had run out of English land they carved up Ireland and Wales. Indeed I believe that the selfish, grabbing, egotistical attitudes so widespread today are to some extent a Norman legacy, although 'blue blood' no longer comes into it and the big bank account has replaced the big sword.

H.I. Jones



## THE FLAME OF DIRECT ACTION

Barry Maycock's article 'Direct Action Under Attack' (GL61) hints at some explanation as to why much of the animal rights movement, particularly the national societies, does not give adequate support to the ALF. It's true that the national societies may resent the questioning of their own methods, brought about by the relative success of ALF actions - and no doubt they also resent the strong criticisms of parliamentary campaigning which some supporters of the ALF have made. It's also true that many AR campaigners unfortunately believe the lies and distortions about the ALF which appear in the media, particularly as most AR publications make little or no effort to correct such untruths. However, I believe there is another important reason why the ALF does not receive proper support from the rest of the movement - and this comes down to the level of personal psychology.

Any reasonably intelligent person involved in the AR movement will soon come to the conclusion that animal liberation (or indeed anything approaching it) will not be achieved without a considerable amount of direct action. The problem is that

people who carry out direct action quite often end up in prison. Most people in the AR movement are afraid of going to prison, whether for fear of not being able to cope with the situation or because, despite their supposed radicalism regarding animals, they have a cosy niche within society which they fear a prison sentence would disrupt. (There are others, of course, who have more genuine reasons not to be able to go to prison, but they are relatively small in number.)

Now, obviously the best thing these people can do is to say "O.K, I'm afraid of going to prison, but I'll support the ALF in whatever lawful way I can." The trouble is that many people's egos prevent them from admitting this fear, so they sidestep the issue by claiming that the ALF's actions are harmful or counterproductive. Because the ALF is a constant reminder of their own failings, they are only too keen to see it slandered and suppressed.

No doubt Autonomous Peace Action (Comment, GL62) will come up against the same sort of attitude in the peace movement in their efforts to get some effective direct action going. I hope this can be overcome and I wish them every success - the very survival of the world could well depend on it! One of the main reasons I left the peace movement in the early 1970s was because of the

namby-pamby attitudes of most of the people within it and their failure to recognise the importance of direct action and economic sabotage against the war industry. I'm pleased that a few other people have finally seen sense! I hope that APA won't allow any lack of support to put them off. The ALF started off with just six people. "Better to light one small candle than curse the darkness" as somebody once said.

Ronnie Lee, VO2682  
HM Prison Longlartin  
South Littleton  
Evesham, Worcs.

### DIFFERENT WORLDS?

Does Jon Carpenter go to the same conferences as I do? As one of the 'Haringey Lefties' he claims weren't present at the Green and Socialist Conference, I seem to have come away with quite different impressions and more positive feelings than he did - perhaps I was at a different conference.

Although I am aware of Benn's record when in office, I thought that the speech he gave at the Conference was excellent in pointing out the common ground that exists between Reds and Greens whilst not glossing over the differences, a small matter of analysis called 'class conflict' which many Greens reject. He did not ask the Greens to join the Labour Party and he specifically ruled out 'top-down' alliances made by the leaderships of either party. Your headline 'Getting Labour to join us' and Jon's slogan 'For a socialist future - join the Green Party', although presumably tongue-in-cheek, shows a misunderstanding of the diverse currents which make up the socialist movement. 'Labourism' is not a new dirty word; its failings have been pointed out by the radical Left for some considerable time, especially by those who have seen its weaknesses at first hand in the struggles of the last few years (in Haringey, Brent, Liverpool and the mining industry, to name but a few).

The potential for joint initiatives by Socialists and Greens is considerable, but Greens will have to recognise that Socialists are not all about to join the Green Party, because of genuine differences in outlook which exist. Trying to understand what people are actually saying, as opposed to stereotyping, will do more to bring about the bridge-building we surely all desire.

Steve Gardner  
Jacksons Lane Centre,  
Archway Road,  
London N6.

### NOT WHOLLY CONTENT WITH THE CONTENT

You still seem to be doing a good job in presenting political views, not hidebound by the Labour Party or, on the other hand, Marxist groups with a 'line'. I like the insertion of green politics into such questions as the value of the work ethic (GL63) and to how we could best combat the evils of nuclear power, rampant capitalism and its resulting pollution. There is also the recognition of unhysterical feminism which GL seems to embrace.

So far so good. However, I have to say that though I recognise the right of anyone to live in a tipi, smoke dope, practise mysticism etc (because it's all part of human diversity, and god help us if we all end up in nice neat houses, paying our taxes and keeping our mouths shut) it doesn't seem to me that any of this is making a valuable political statement worth taking up space in your magazine.

But so what - it's a nice way to relax and we were all doing it 20 years ago. This is a plea to keep up the tough stuff and leave out the hippy ramblings. You seem to be

avoiding Marxist rhetoric (which is good) so could we put away the peace pipe as well please?

Sue Priest  
108 Marlborough Rd.  
London

As GL describes itself as the 'magazine of green politics and lifestyle', couldn't we have more balance between the two? Obviously the political aspect is important, but I for one could use some ideas on a greener lifestyle (horrid word) at a more individual level. More inside information from groups pioneering new ways of living, e.g. Tipi village, would be of value rather than just the political side of events. Also I feel that the very important spiritual side of things is somewhat neglected - we all need sustaining from within!

Steve Long  
The Cottage, Moor Rd  
Langham, Colchester